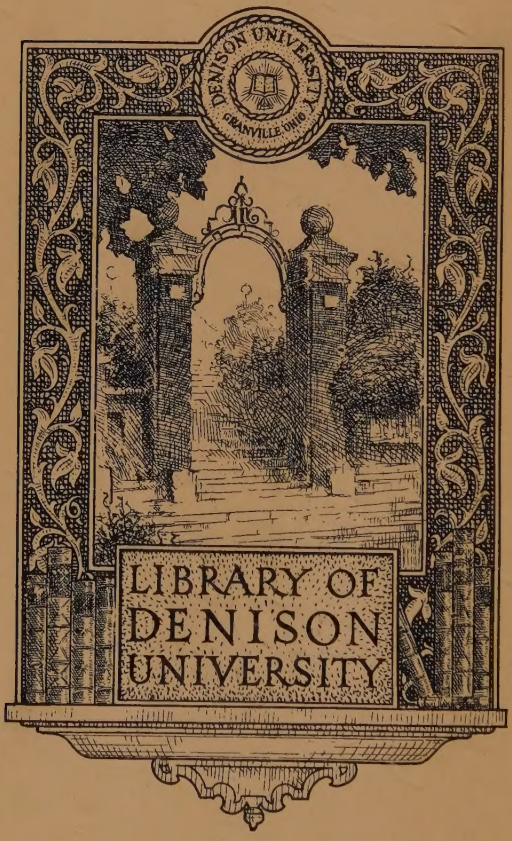

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WITH

Biographical and Historical Memoirs

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY EDMUND LODGE, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF ORMOND.

OB. 1688.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.

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JAMES BUTLER,

FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.

A MEMOIR of the extent necessarily prescribed to these, can furnish but a very imperfect sketch of such a life as that on which I am now required to treat. The Duke of Ormond was perhaps the best as well as the greatest of the eminent men of his time; a just representation of his moral character would comprehend almost all the features of a pure system of ethics, and a regular detail of his public conduct nearly the whole story of his country, from the period of his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs to his death. Little therefore can be expected here beyond a mere common-place narrative of the circumstances of a life, the due celebration of which might justly demand all the dignity as well as all the diligence of history.

Of his descent from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Ireland it is almost needless to speak. His predecessors had encountered strange vicissitudes; had been attainted, and restored; had been forced by Henry the Eighth to relinquish their Earldom, under the name of a voluntary surrender, to the father of Anne Boleyn, and, after the downfall of her family, reobtained it from that Prince; and were at length stripped of their estates, under colour of law, by James the First, that they might fall, with the show of an inheritance, into the hands of one of his Scottish favourites, Sir Richard Preston, lately created Viscount Dingwall, who had married the only daughter and heir of the tenth Earl. On the death of the latter, Sir Walter Butler,

of Killcash, a collateral kinsman who became the object of that injustice, succeeded to the titles, and the subject of this memoir was the first-born child of his eldest son, Thomas, Viscount Thurles, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire.

He was born in 1610, and passed his youth under the most inauspicious circumstances. While yet in his infancy, his grandfather was committed to the Fleet Prison for having murmured at the award which had deprived him of his estates, and remained there till the King died; and in 1619 his father was lost at sea in passing over from Ireland, leaving a widow, and seven children, nearly destitute. His education was almost wholly neglected. He was placed for some years under the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and removed from thence to Finchley, where he received some very ordinary instruction, by a Mr. Conyers, a Roman Catholic priest, from whom he was taken by the King's order, and sent to Lambeth, that he might be bred under the inspection of Archbishop Abbot in the Protestant faith. Abbot seems to have abided strictly by the letter of his instructions, for the young Lord Thurles certainly was converted to the Church of England, of which he remained ever after a zealous son, but was otherwise treated with such carelessness, that it was not till the age of twenty, after he had married, that he began to study the Latin language, and then in a manner accidentally, by the aid of the domestic chaplain of his uncle Poyntz, in a visit which he made to that gentleman's country seat, for the purpose of introducing his bride.

His marriage terminated the series of misfortune and persecution which had assailed him almost from the hour of his birth, and was the result of very singular circumstances. Lord Dingwall had an only daughter, heir of course to the Ormond estates, which her father had so unjustly acquired. The favourite Buckingham, ever bent on aggrandizing his family, had obtained the promise of her hand for his nephew, George Fielding, second son to the Earl of Denbigh, and, among other arrangements regarding the

marriage, Dingwall was created Viscount Callan, and Earl of Desmond, in Ireland, with remainder to George Fielding, on whom also was immediately conferred the title of Lord Fielding. To remove more effectually any chance of obstruction to this treaty, James suffered himself to be persuaded to put the heir male of the house of Ormond wholly into the hands of his adversary, and most iniquitously granted the wardship and marriage of Lord Thurles to the Earl of Desmond. A special interference of Providence seems to have defeated the plan. Just as it was at the point of accomplishment, Buckingham was assassinated, and Desmond drowned on his passage between Dublin and Holyhead; and his widow, who it will be recollected was heir to the Earls of Ormond of the elder line, dying about the same time, with her last breath conjured her daughter to put an end to the miseries of the family by uniting herself to her kinsman. On the eighth of September, 1629, Charles the First, who had now succeeded to the throne, signed a license for their marriage, which was immediately after celebrated.

In 1632 he succeeded, on the death of his grandfather, to the dignities of his family, and in the following year went to Ireland, to the government of which the Earl of Strafford had then lately been appointed. It is said that on his first visit to that great man, Strafford, who viewed him from a window as he crossed the Castle yard, said to those about him—"If my skill in physiognomy fail me not, that young nobleman will make the greatest man of his family." A circumstance soon after occurred which might have caused a lasting breach between men of minds less noble. Strafford had issued an order that at the meeting of Parliament the members should not enter either House wearing swords: all obeyed except the Earl of Ormond, who, on his sword being demanded at the door by the usher of the black rod, answered, "You shall have no sword of mine but in your body;" nor was this merely the intemperate sally of a rash young man, for, on his being summoned to answer for it on the rising of the House, he showed the King's writ, calling him to Parliament "cinctus cum gladio." The

Deputy admitted the justification, and is said to have been charmed by his high spirit and acuteness. How far this single occurrence might have operated to unite two persons of congenial dispositions can scarcely be supposed, but certain it is that from this period they conceived a mutual friendship, which on Strafford's part was presently considerably enhanced by his growing experience of Ormond's splendid talents. In a long letter to the Secretary of State, dated on the 16th of December, 1634, when the young Earl had been not many months in Ireland, Strafford, in giving a general view of the state of that country, says—"In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgment and parts as he hath in estate and blood, and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the Crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of his Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to his Majesty's wisdom whether it were not seasonable to make him a counsellor. He is young, but, take it from me, a very staid head." The Secretary's answer, which, together with the letter just now cited, are published in the Strafford Papers, conveys the King's warrant for his admission into the Privy Council.

He became now Strafford's confidential adviser, and shared with him the cares of his government, neither receiving nor requiring any reward beyond the hope of a happy issue of his labours. In the following Parliament, which met in 1640, he acted with equal zeal and discretion as the chief manager of all business in the House of Lords on the part of the Crown, and when the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion rendered it necessary to raise an armed force in Ireland, the levy was intrusted to his care, and the army afterwards placed under his command. The storm which had for some time threatened Strafford at home began now to break over his head, and in Ireland the same Parliament which had lately offered their public thanks to the King for having given them so worthy a governor, readily joined that of England in his prosecution: the Commons voted a long and bitter remon-

strance against him, and a powerful party in the House of Peers was preparing to follow their example, but were prevented by the forcible arguments of Ormond, and the earnest opposition of a band which the force of his talents, and the example of his rectitude, had united in the defence of the Crown and the laws. It was, however, presently evident that Strafford was devoted to utter ruin. Many proofs remain that his attachment to Ormond subsisted unimpaired to his last hour. Two letters written while he was imprisoned in the Tower to this nobleman have been preserved: in the first, dated on the seventeenth of December, 1640, he tells him that he had recommended him to the King, for the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland: and begins the second, on the third of the following February, with these passionate expressions, —"There is so little rest given me, my noble Lord, as I have not scarce time to eat my bread. I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men." On the evening before he suffered death, he intrusted to Archbishop Usher a few requests to be delivered to his royal master, one of which was that his blue ribbon should be given to the Earl of Ormond. Charles offered it accordingly, but Ormond replied "that his own loyalty stood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that such an honour might probably be employed more for his Majesty's service."

On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in the winter of 1641, the King would have appointed him Lord Deputy, but the Parliament had determined on the Earl of Leicester. The important post, however, of Commander in Chief of the army was intrusted to him by the Lords Justices, and, with that felicitous application of talents to new objects which belongs only to the greatest minds, he presently appeared in the character of an able and experienced general. He determined to attack the rebels in every quarter with unceasing vigour, and was uniformly victorious during the whole of the next year's campaign, though his measures

were frequently impeded by enemies in the Council more formidable than those in the field. The Justices, Borlace and Parsons, became jealous of his favour with the King, and inclined, from party motives, to weaken the effect of those services the success of which would certainly have placed him at the head of the government. They soon endeavoured to thwart all his plans; and the arrival of Leicester, by whom they had been secretly encouraged, aggravated the evil. Calumnies arising from the same quarters were spread against him in England, but it may be presumed with little effect, since the House of Commons in that year voted him their thanks, and presented him with a rich jewel; while the King, desirous to remove the inconveniences under which he laboured, and to confer on him a special mark of the royal approbation, renewed his appointment of Commander in Chief by a commission from himself, under the Great Seal, and presently after created him Marquis of Ormond. The Irish government could now no longer control his measures, but new and more serious difficulties began to present themselves in the state of the country at large. Even the loyalists of Ireland, since the commencement of the rebellion, had been gradually dividing themselves into five factions of various views and interests, abounding in rancour and hatred towards each other. The uncertainty and the scantiness of supplies drawn from such discordant sources crippled the sinews of war, and the increasing fury of the fanatical party in the English Parliament blinded that assembly to the necessities of the sister country. These disadvantages, till they could be no longer encountered, seemed but to inspire Ormond with increased zeal and vigour, but he was at length obliged to cede to them. Soon after a signal victory, gained by a very inferior force under his command, near the town of Ross, he was under the cruel necessity of accepting proposals from the rebels, the issue of which was a cessation of arms for twelve months.

The news of this treaty, which was signed on the fifteenth of September, 1643, was received with much affected disapprobation

by the English Parliament, and with real grief by the King, who was, however, so fully satisfied of the fidelity and capacity with which the measures preceding it had been conducted, that he resolved to place the Marquis at the head of the government of Ireland, and he was accordingly sworn into the office of Lord Lieutenant in the spring of the following year. Ormond's great spirit shrank for a moment from the difficulties of which his new station gave him a near and more comprehensive view, and he besought Charles to recall his appointment. To the discords by which the country thus placed under his charge was already torn, was now added the baleful influence of an incipient rebellion in England, emissaries from whose leaders were indefatigably employed in endeavouring to seduce the loyal Irish from their allegiance; while many of those who remained unshaken were intriguing against him in the Court, lately removed to Oxford, or importuning him for rewards and benefits which he was wholly unable to bestow. Charles however conjured him to stand firmly at his post, and he obeyed; but the necessities of his situation forced him immediately to conclude a peace with the rebels, which was signed at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July, 1646. The hopes founded on this agreement were blasted by strange intrigues which had commenced during its negotiation. The Roman Catholics, by far the most powerful party in Ireland, and from which all the captains of the rebellion had issued, had been unremittingly goaded on by the Pope's Nuncio to raise their own interest on the ruins of all others; while Charles, with the best motives, and the worst policy, had privately employed the fantastic Edward Somerset, Earl of Glamorgan, in a mysterious correspondence with the chiefs of that persuasion for the eventual benefit of the protestant cause. Thus flattered and elated, they embarked in a new conspiracy, the leading feature of which was to seize the person of the Lord Lieutenant at Kilkenny, from whence he escaped with much difficulty and danger to Dublin, to which they immediately laid siege. Ormond long defended the capital with equal perseverance and skill, and chiefly at his own charge,

till his means were wholly exhausted. In the mean time his royal master fell, a helpless prisoner, into the hands of his fanatical rebels at home, and the distraction of Ireland was increased by the arrival of commissioners from the English Parliament. Unable to hold the city longer, he had no alternative but to surrender it to them, or to the insurgents; and preferring the former, signed a treaty with them to that effect on the nineteenth of June, 1647, and soon after embarked for England.

He obtained with some difficulty permission to wait on the King, then confined in Hampton Court, and laid before his Majesty an exact account of his conduct in the government of Ireland, and of the state in which he had left the country. Charles declared his perfect approbation and gratitude, and refused to receive the Marquis's commission, which he now once more begged leave to resign, saying that, "if it could ever be employed with success in that country, it must be by him." Doubtless in this interview between that unhappy prince and his faithful servant new plans were laid, and fresh hopes inspired, as Ormond soon after embarked for France, where he remained for ten months, negotiating, as it should seem, with the Catholics on each side of the water, for at length the leaders of those of Ireland suddenly expelled the Nuncio, and invited the Marquis to return, which he did on the ninth of September, 1648, and immediately concluded with them a treaty of peace. He had brought with him neither men nor money; experience had taught him that his new friends were to be trusted with caution; the capital was in the hands of a rebel officer from England, and several other places of more importance for strength were garrisoned by that party; emissaries from Cromwell, who had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, were in perpetual activity there; and Prince Rupert, who lay on the coast with the fleet which had revolted from the Parliament, instead of assisting him, thwarted his measures, and took on himself to deal independently with the different factions, from a jealousy and vanity equally unpardonable.

Ormond, undaunted by these obstacles, resumed the helm with admirable coolness and intrepidity. The news of the murther of the King had excited universal horror in Ireland, and he strove to take advantage of that disposition. He lost no time in proclaiming Charles the Second; made flattering proposals of treaty to O'Neill, who commanded that class of the rebels which had named itself the Old Irish, and which was still in arms; and endeavoured to gain over the English commanders. All these steps proving ineffectual, he determined to put the success of the royal cause in Ireland upon one grand and desperate issue, and to besiege the city of Dublin. His force scarcely exceeded in number that of the garrison, and he was proceeding in his enterprise with equal caution and resolution, when a strong reinforcement to the enemy arrived from England, and encouraged the besieged to make a general sally. An action, which the Irish writers call the battle of Rathmines, ensued, in which his little army was totally routed; and while he was devising the means to resume at least a posture of defence, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin, with an army of twelve thousand men, and finally extinguished all his hopes of success. He now resolved to quit a country in which his hopes of service were blasted, and his life in danger, and, having asserted the dying authority of his commission in the appointment of the Earl of Clanricarde to the office of Lord Deputy, embarked, on the fifth of September, 1650, for France, to partake with Charles the Second in an union of desperate fortunes.

Charles, dissipated, indolent, and unprincipled, as he was, admired talents, and respected virtues. He had lately bestowed on the Marquis of Ormond one of the very few rewards in his power by sending to him in Ireland the Order of the Garter, and now received him into the utmost favour and confidence. He remained however at Paris during the King's absence in that unfortunate expedition which terminated in the battle of Worcester, assisting with his counsel the Queen mother and her family. In the mean time his finances became totally exhausted, and the Marchioness, who was in England, employed in negotiating with

the Parliament to save some part of his estates from confiscation, being unable to send him any assistance, he was for a long time compelled to depend on the generous hospitality of the French nobility for support. Soon after the King's return, he accepted a commission of peculiar delicacy—to detach the Duke of Gloucester from the Queen mother, who had obstinately determined to breed him in the Romish persuasion. This he effected with so much address as not only to maintain himself in the Queen's favour, but to become afterwards the sole instrument of appeasing the quarrel which it had caused between her and the King. He was now for a considerable time employed in endeavouring to gain over the Court of Spain to his master's interest, through the means of Don John of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, by whom he was held in high consideration; and having discovered that false and unfavourable representations had been made to that Prince by Cardenas, the Spanish minister to Cromwell, of the degree of influence possessed by Charles in England, he nobly determined to go thither in disguise, and to collect such proofs as might remove all doubt on the subject. The story of this expedition, which occupied a month, and of the dangers which he encountered in it, is full of curiosity, but its results seem to have been insignificant. The loyalty and courage which he had displayed in it fixed him more firmly than ever in the King's esteem: he became Charles's most favoured companion and adviser; was consulted on all the secret steps which led to the restoration; and had no small share in the accomplishment of that great event.

His services were now acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed Steward of the Household; and created a Peer of England, by the title of Earl of Brecknock. The Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, which he had held for some years before the death of the late King, was restored to him, and he was re-possessed not only of the great estates of which he had been stripped during the usurpation, but of all others which had at any time been forfeited to the

Crown by his ancestors, the preamble to the patent by which that extraordinary boon was conferred containing perhaps a larger acknowledgement of services than any subject had ever before received from his Prince. He was created Lord High Steward of England for the occasion of the coronation, and was raised, a few days before that ceremony took place, to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, in Ireland: at length, on the fourth of October, 1662, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of that island, an event so welcome to the best judgments of the country that the Parliament immediately voted to him a present of thirty thousand pounds. Ireland however was yet in a state of considerable ferment, and indeed some necessary measures which had been taken since the restoration had created new discontents. The act of settlement was odious to the military, and the act of uniformity to the sectaries: these regulations were ascribed chiefly to the Duke, and a few of the most daring of each party joined, soon after his arrival, in a plot, contrived with infinite subtlety, chiefly by the notorious Colonel Blood, then a Lieutenant, for surprising the Castle of Dublin, and seizing his person, as the prelude to a general insurrection.

This conspiracy having been happily rendered abortive by a timely discovery, Ormond applied himself to the affairs of his government with an equal attention to the interests of the monarchy and the welfare of the Irish, but was presently interrupted by the profligate class of ministers who then infested Charles's heterogeneous Cabinet. It should seem that their aversion to him arose simply from that almost instinctive antipathy which knaves bear towards honest and honourable men. Bennet afterwards Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, endeavoured to thwart all his measures, and easily persuaded the Queen mother, whom he had offended by refusing some favour to the Marquis of Antrim, who was patronized by her, and the King's mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, whom he had uprightly and wisely prevented from having a grant of the Phœnix park and mansion, in Dublin, to undermine him in that Prince's affec-

tions. In the mean time, which aggravated their malice, he lived in the strictest intimacy and confidence with the great and virtuous Earl of Clarendon, whom they detested; and, when they contrived soon after to compass the political ruin of that admirable statesman, great pains were taken to discover matter whereon to ground an impeachment against Ormond, and rumours were industriously spread, both in England and Ireland, to teach the people to expect it. Charles, rather from kindness than suspicion, recalled him in May, 1668, to give an account of his conduct, and received him with the grace to which he had been accustomed. He told the King that "though it would never trouble him to be undone for his Majesty, it would be an insupportable affliction to be undone by him;" challenged and obtained the strictest enquiry, and was declared wholly blameless. Buckingham, however, who had determined to displace him, commenced a series of intrigue and artifice which rendered his public situation insupportable, and he resigned it in the spring of the following year; nor did that sacrifice abate the rancour of his enemies, who now insinuated that he had derived immense wealth during his administration from the miseries of Ireland. This report was diffused with such effect that he thought himself bound to refute it by a second explanation, and is said to have shown satisfactorily that the public had become indebted to him during the term of his services in the enormous ablance of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds.

Ormond retired with unabated loyalty, and dignified patience. The party by which he had been persecuted could not prevail on Charles to dismiss him from the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which he, on his part, condescended to retain from motives of respect to that Prince; the University of Oxford, immediately after his removal from the government of Ireland, unanimously elected him Chancellor; the wise, the good, and the great, seemed united in one common sentiment of esteem for him; when those who had in vain endeavoured to destroy his character determined to attack his life. On the sixth of December, 1670,

having been to dine in the City, on the occasion of an entertainment given by the corporation to the Prince of Orange, he was beset, on his return in St. James's Street, by a few armed desperadoes, commanded by his old enemy Blood, who himself forced the Duke out of his coach; bound him on a horse, behind one of the party; and was hurrying him to Tyburn, intending to have hanged him there on the common gallows, when he was by a surprising good fortune rescued. Buckingham was strongly suspected of having planned this outrageous enterprise, and Blood's concern in it was totally unknown till he voluntarily confessed in his examination by the King, after his well known attempt to carry off the Regalia in the following year. Charles, whose mysterious conduct on that remarkable occasion has been so frequently the subject of historical conjecture, sent Arlington to the Duke of Ormond to request that he would forgive Blood, "for reasons which he had orders to disclose to him;" but the Duke answered, says Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his narrative, that "if the King could forgive him for stealing his crown, he" (the Duke) "might easily forgive his attempt upon his life: and if such was his Majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient reason for him, and his Lordship might spare the rest."

He now remained for seven years unemployed in the State, and personally slighted by the King, when in the month of April, 1677, he suddenly received a message that his Majesty would sup with him. The occasion of Charles's visit was to communicate his determination to appoint him once more Lord Lieutenant; a step to which the Duke of York, as it afterwards appeared, had prompted the King, to prevent Monmouth from succeeding to that office. His third administration was marked by a degree of patriotism and wisdom even higher than either of the former. Ireland was now somewhat tranquillized, but the overweening influence of the Papists threatened the extinction of the established religion, and disturbed the conduct of the State. He opposed it with a firmness so happily moderated as to have wholly escaped the charge of persecution; seized and imprisoned Talbot, the

Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who had meditated a dangerous design against his person; swept away the other titular dignitaries by a single proclamation; gradually rendered the army completely protestant; and left the common people of the contrary persuasion to the quiet exercise of their faith and worship. Meanwhile he encouraged agriculture, arts, and manufactures, by regulations full of discretion, and sought the civilization and comfort of his countrymen with the most affectionate zeal. Still, however, he was opposed in England, with unremitting industry, by the party which had so long molested him. Charles, to escape from their importunities, found himself obliged to declare, with an oath, that "while the Duke of Ormond lived he should never be put out of that government;" yet he was obliged so far to submit as to call again upon his Grace for an explanation and defence of his ministry, which having been given, to the full satisfaction of the whole of both countries, the King invited him to London in 1682, and on the ninth of November in that year, raised his Dukedom to an English dignity. He took advantage of this tide of favour to reiterate with earnestness the arguments which he had for several years been vainly pressing on the King's attention to induce him to call a Parliament in Ireland, and gave offence. He was commanded to return to his government, from which indeed he had been long absent; and Charles, forgetting his oath, despatched after him an order to deprive him of it, but did not live to receive its resignation.

From James he had less courteousness to expect than he experienced. The sword indeed was taken from him at Dublin with little ceremony, but the King, on his arrival in London, received him graciously; left him in possession of his ancient office of Lord Steward; and paid him the compliment of giving him the crown to carry at the coronation. Little of interest now remained to fill up the measure of a long and unblemished life. Ormond, a pattern of loyalty, but not more devoted to the monarchy than to the Protestant establishment, lent his last endeavours in the public service at once to save his Prince from the ruin to which

he seemed to have devoted himself, and the Church of England from injuries which the work of an age might not have repaired; while James, to crown the absurdities into which his zeal had betrayed him, disturbed the tranquillity with which the Duke declined towards the grave by ridiculous efforts to induce him to abandon that system of faith which had been the guide of his youth and maturity, and was now the hope and comfort of his old age. He died of a gradual decay, at Kingston Hall, a house which he had hired in Dorsetshire, on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and was buried on the fourth of the next month in Westminster Abbey.

This great person married, as has been before partly observed, his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir to Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond, by whom he had eight sons, all of whom he survived, and two daughters. Of the former, the first, third, fourth, sixth, and eighth; Thomas, James, James, Walter, and James, died very young: Thomas, the second son, was the admirable Earl of Ossory, whose memory has been embalmed by the pen of Lord Clarendon; the fifth, Richard, was created Viscount of Tullough, &c. in Ireland, and Lord Butler of Weston, in England, by Charles the Second; John, the seventh son, was also advanced by the same Prince to the peerage of Ireland, by the titles of Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. The daughters were Elizabeth, wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; and Mary, married to William, Lord Cavendish, afterwards the first Duke of Devonshire.

Engraved by H.Robinson

JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

OB. 1689.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF STRATHMORE.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN GRAHAM,

FIRST VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

This remarkable man, whose name can never be forgotten while military skill and prowess, and the most loyal and active fidelity to an almost hopeless cause, shall challenge recollection, was the eldest son of Sir William Graham, of Claverhouse, in the County of Forfar, by Jane, fourth daughter of John Carnegy, first Earl of Northesk. His family was a scion which branched off from the ancient stock of the great House of Montrose, early in the fifteenth century, by the second marriage of William Lord Graham, of Kincardine, to Mary, second daughter of Robert the Third, King of Scotland, and had gradually acquired considerable estates, chiefly by the bounty of the Crown. He received his education in the University of St. Andrews, which he left to seek on the Continent the more polished qualifications of a private gentleman of large fortune, the sphere to which he seemed to have been destined. In France, however, the latent fire of his character broke forth; he entered as a volunteer into the army of Louis the Fourteenth; and having presently determined to adopt the military profession, accepted in 1672 a commission of Cornet in the Horse Guards of William the Third, Prince of Orange, by whom, in the summer of 1674, he was promoted to be Captain of a troop, for his signal gallantry at the battle of Seneffe, in which indeed he saved the life of that Prince by a personal effort. He asked soon after for the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service, and, strange to tell, was refused, on

which he threw up his commission, making the cutting remark, that "the soldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave," and returned to England, bringing with him, however, the warmest recommendations from William to Charles the Second; and Charles, who had been just then misadvised to subdue the obstinacy of the Scottish covenanters by force of arms, appointed him to lead a body of horse which had been raised in Scotland for that purpose, and gave him full powers to act as he might think fit against them, although under the nominal command of the Duke of Monmouth. His conduct in the performance of this impolitic and cruel commission has left a stain on his memory scarcely to be glossed over by the brilliancy of his subsequent merits. Bred from his infancy in an enthusiastic veneration to monachy, and to the established church, his hatred to the whigs, as they were then called in Scotland, was almost a part of his nature; and, under the influence of a temper which never allowed him to be lukewarm in any pursuit, his zeal degenerated on this occasion with a frightful facility into a spirit of persecution. He watched and dispersed, with the most severe vigilance, the devotional meetings of those perverse and miserable sectaries, and forced thousands of them to subscribe, at the point of the sword, to an oath utterly subversive of the doctrines which they most cherished. But this was not the worst. On the first of July, 1679, having attacked a conventicle on Loudoun Hill, in Ayrshire, the neighbouring peasants rose suddenly on a detachment of his troops, and, with that almost supernatural power which a pure thirst of vengeance alone will sometimes confer on mere physical force, defeated them with considerable loss. The fancied disgrace annexed to this check raised Graham's fury to the highest pitch, and he permitted himself to retaliate on the unarmed whigs by cruelties inconsistent with the character of a brave man. The track of his march was now uniformly marked by carnage; the refusal of his test was punished with instant death; and the practice of these horrible excesses, which was continued for some months, procured for him the appellation of "bloody Claver-

house;" by which he is still occasionally mentioned in that part of Scotland. He apologized for these horrors by coldly remarking, that "if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy."

It may be concluded that this intemperance had the full approbation of the Crown, for we find that he was appointed in 1682 Sheriff of the Shire of Wigton; received soon after a commission of Captain in what was called the Royal Regiment of Horse; was sworn a Privy Councillor in Scotland; and had a grant from the King of the Castle of Dudhope, and the office of Constable of Dundee. Nor was it less acceptable—such is the rage of party, especially when excited by religious discord—to the Scottish Episcopalians, who from that time seemed to have reposed in him the highest confidence. James, however, in forming on his accession a new Privy Council for that country, was prevailed on to omit his name, on the ground of his having connected himself in marriage with the fanatical family of Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, but that umbrage was soon removed, and in 1686 he was restored to his seat in the Council, and appointed a Brigadier General; in 1688 promoted to the rank of Major General; and, on the twelfth of November in that year, created by patent to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder, in default of such issue, to his other heirs male, Viscount of Dundee, and Baron Graham of Claverhouse, in Scotland. The gift of these dignities was, in fact, the concluding act of James's expiring government. Graham, who was then attending that unhappy Prince in London, used every effort that good sense and high spirit could suggest, to induce him to remain in his capital, and await there with dignified firmness the arrival of the Prince of Orange; undertaking for himself to collect, with that promptitude which was almost peculiar to him, ten thousand of the King's disbanded troops, and at their head to annihilate the Dutch forces which William had brought with him. Perhaps there existed not on the face of the earth another man so likely to redeem such an engagement, but James, depressed and irresolute, refused the offer. Struck, however, with the zeal and bravery, and indeed with the personal affection,

which had dictated it, he intrusted to Dundee the direction of all his military affairs in Scotland, whither that nobleman repaired just at the time that James fled from London.

When he arrived at Edinburgh he found a Convention sitting, as in London, of the Estates of the country, in which he took his place. He complained to that assembly that a design had been formed to assassinate him; required that all strangers should be removed from the town; and, his request having been denied, he left Edinburgh at the head of a troop of horse which he had hastily formed there of soldiers who had deserted in England from his own regiment. In the short interval afforded by the discussion of this matter, he formed his plans. After a conference with the Duke of Gordon, who then held the Castle for James, he set out for Stirling, where he called a Parliament of the friends of that Prince, and the revolutionists in Scotland saw their influence, even within a few days, dispelled as it were by magic, in obedience to his powerful energies. He was, in a manner, without troops, depending on the affections of those around him, which he had heated to enthusiasm, when a force sent by the Convention to seize his person seemed to remind him that he must have an army. He retired therefore into Lochaber; summoned a meeting of the chiefs of clans in the Highlands, and presently found himself at the head of six thousand of the hardy natives, well armed and accoutred. He now wrote to James, who, in compliance with French counsels, was wasting his time and means in Ireland, conjuring him to embark with a part of his army for Scotland, "where," as he told the King, "there were no regular troops, except four regiments, which William had lately sent down; where his presence would fix the wavering, and intimidate the timid; and where hosts of shepherds would start up warriors at the first wave of his banner upon their mountains." With the candour and plainness of a soldier and a faithful servant, he besought James to be content with the exercise of his own religion, and to leave in Ireland the Earl of Melfort Secretary of State, between whom and himself some jealousy existed which might be

prejudicial to a service in which they were alike devotedly sincere, however they might differ as to the best means of advancing it. James rejected his advice. "Dundee was furnished," says Burnet, "with some small store of arms and ammunition, and had kind promises, encouraging him, and all that joined with him."

Left now to his own discretion, and his own resources, he displayed, together with the greatest military qualifications, and the most exalted generosity and disinterestedness, all the subtlety of a refined politician. On his arrival at Inverness he found that a discord had long subsisted between the people of the town and some neighbouring chiefs, on an alleged debt from the one to the other, and that the two parties, with their dependants, had assembled in arms to decide the quarrel. He heard the allegations of the principals on each side, with an affectation of the exactness of judicial inquiry, and then, having convened the entire mass of the conflicting parties in public, reproached them with the most cutting severity, that they, "who were all equally friends to King James, should be preparing, at a time when he most needed their friendship, to draw those daggers against each other which ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his enemies." He then paid from his own purse the debt in dispute; and the late litigants, charmed by the grandeur of his conduct, instantly placed themselves in a cordial union under his banner. To certain other chiefs, upon whose estates the Earl of Argyle, who sought to restore his importance by attaching himself to the revolutionary party, had ancient claims in law, and to others, who had obtained grants from the Crown of some of that nobleman's forfeited lands, he represented the peril in which they would be placed by the success of William's enterprise on the British throne, and gained them readily to his beloved cause. He addressed himself with signal effect to all the powerful men of the north of Scotland; fomented the angry feelings of those who thought themselves neglected by the new government; flattered the vanity of those who, indifferent to the affairs of either party, sought simply for power and importance; corrupted several officers of the regi-

ments which were in preparation to be sent against him; and even managed to maintain a constant correspondence with some members of the Privy Council, by whom he was regularly apprised of the plans contrived from time to time to counteract his gigantic efforts. Nay, he contrived to detach, as it were in a moment, from Lord Murray, heir to the Earl of Athol, a body of a thousand men, raised by that nobleman on his father's estates; a defection of Highland vassals which had never till then occurred. "While Murray," says my author, "was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks; ran to an adjoining brook; filled their bonnets with water; drank to King James's health; and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee."

So acute and experienced a commander as William could not be long unconscious of the importance of such an enemy. He despatched into Scotland, at the head of between five and six thousand picked troops, General M'Kay, who had long served him in Holland with the highest military reputation. In the mean time, James, who had been apprised of this disposition, sent orders to Dundee not to hazard a battle till the arrival of a force from Ireland, which he now promised. Two months however elapsed before it appeared, which Dundee, burning with impatience, was necessitated to pass in the mountains, in marches of unexampled rapidity, in furious partial attacks, and masterly retreats. It has been well said of him that, "the first messenger of his approach was generally his own army in fight, and that the first intelligence of his retreat, brought accounts that he was already out of his enemy's reach." The long-expected aid at length arrived, in the last week of June, 1689, consisting only of five hundred raw and ill-provided recruits, but he instantly made ready for action. He advanced to meet M'Kay, who was preparing to invest the Castle of Blair in Athol, a fortress the possession whereof enabled James's army to maintain a free communication between the northern and southern Highlands, and determined to attack William's troops on a small plain at the mouth of the pass of Killicranky, after they should have marched

through that remarkable defile, on their road to Blair. On the sixteenth of July at noon, M'Kay's army arrived on the plain, and discovered Dundee in array on the opposite hills. He had resolved, for reasons abounding with military genius, to defer his onset till the evening, and M'Kay by various expedients vainly tempted him during the day to descend: at length, half an hour before sunset, his Highlanders rushed down, with the celerity and the fury of lions, and William's army was in an instant completely routed. Dundee, who had fought on foot, now mounted his horse, and flew towards the pass, to cut off their retreat, when, looking back, he found that he had outstripped his men, and was nearly alone. He halted, and, waving his arm in the air, pointed to the pass, as a signal to them to hasten their march, and to occupy it. At that moment a ball from a musket aimed at him lodged in his body, immediately under the arm so raised. He fell from his horse, and, fainting, was carried off the field; but, soon after recovering his senses for a few seconds, he hastily inquired "how things went," and on being answered "all was well," "Then," said he, "I am well," and expired. William, on hearing of his death, said, "The war in Scotland is now ended."

The memory of this heroic partisan has been cherished in the hearts, and celebrated by the pens, of numbers of his countrymen. A poet thus pathetically addresses his shade, and bewails the loss sustained by Scotland in his death—

"Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ.
Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledonia, nomen inane, vale!
Tuque vale gentis priscæ fortissime ductor,
Optime Scotorum, atque ultime, Grame, vale!"

And Sir John Dalrymple has left us some particulars of his military character exquisitely curious and interesting. "In his marches," says that author, "his men frequently wanted bread,

salt, and all liquors except water, during several weeks, yet were ashamed to complain, when they observed that their commander lived not more delicately than themselves. If anything good was brought him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings: for this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another: he amused them with jokes; he flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies; he animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful: the only punishment he inflicted was death. All other punishments, he said, disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime. It is reported of him that having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time—he brought him to the front of the army, and saying that 'a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,' shot him with his own pistol."

In society he is said to have been as much distinguished by a delicacy and softness of manners and temper, and by the most refined politeness, as he was by his sternness in war. Sir Walter Scott, in his Romance of *Old Mortality*, in which facts and fiction are blended with an uncommon felicity, gives us the following picture of his person and demeanour, evidently not the work of fancy, and probably in substance the result of respectable and inveterate tradition.

"Graham of Claverhouse was rather low of stature, and slightly, though elegantly, formed; his gesture, language, and manners, were those of one whose life had been spent among the

noble and the gay. His features exhibited even feminine regularity. An oval face, a straight and well-formed nose, dark hazel eyes, a complexion just sufficiently tinged with brown to save it from the charge of effeminacy, a short upper lip, curved upwards like that of a Grecian statue, and slightly shaded by small mus tachios of light brown, joined to a profusion of long curled locks of the same colour, which fell down on each side of his face, contributed to form such a countenance as limners like to paint, and ladies to look upon. The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour which even his enemies were compelled to admit, lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon rather than to the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. Such are the characters formed in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities, perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition, are too often combined with vices and excesses which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre."

Lord Dundee married Jane, third and youngest daughter of William Lord Cochrane, eldest son of William, first Earl of Dundonald, by whom he had an only child, James, who succeeded to the titles of his father, and survived him but for a few months.

Engraved by Thos Wright.

ELIZABETH CECIL, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1689.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published Novr 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

ELIZABETH CECIL,

COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

This lady was the second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, by Catharine youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and Lord Treasurer. Little is known of her, than that she was distinguished by the most exquisite beauty; but the unceasing attachment of her excellent husband, and the silence of scandal in an age and court not sparing of censure, leave little doubt that her character was at least blameless. William, third Earl of Devonshire, that great ornament to the name of Cavendish, alluding to whose fine person Hobbes, his tutor, prayed that "God might give him virtues suitable to the fair dwelling he had prepared for them;" and of whom the respectable biographer of a part of his family has said that "he was seasoned with the just tincture of all private and public worth;" returning from his travels in 1637, was captivated by her charms, and soon after made her his wife. The match was little pleasing to his family. The Earl of Salisbury was not rich; burthened with a most numerous offspring; and of a character different from that of his son-in-law, even to contrariety. Salisbury was deficient in all the worthy and amiable relations of private life, and totally without public principles, or even prejudices: Devonshire was a pattern of honour, politeness, and loyalty. An union formed under circumstances so unpropitious afforded but a doubtful prospect of

happy results. The ardent passion however of this youthful pair seems to have subsided gradually into that nameless species of mutual affection which sometimes blesses and adorns the connubial state, and is never found to exist in any other form of human relation. They lived together nearly half a century. The Earl died on the twenty-third of November, 1684, and she survived him till the sixteenth of the same month, in the year 1689, and was buried, on the twenty-second, in a large vault, under the east window of Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, known by the name of the Ormond vault, in which the body of Oliver Cromwell lay, till it was removed soon after the restoration.

This lady brought to the Earl two sons: William, afterwards eminently conspicuous in the public affairs of his time, who, on the twelfth of May, 1694, was created Duke of Devonshire, and Marquis of Hartington, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; and a second son, Charles, born in 1655, who died unmarried about 1670. She left also one daughter, Anne, married first to Charles Lord Rich, only son to Charles, the last Earl of Warwick of his family; secondly, to her kinsman, John Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter. To this lady Prior addressed a poem of some length, which may be found in his works, inscribed "to the Countess of Exeter, playing on the lute," which commences thus—

> "What charms you have, from what high race you sprung,
> Have been the pleasing objects of my song;
> Unskill'd and young, yet something still I writ
> Of Candish' beauty, joined to Cecil's wit."

If the poet meant, in the conclusion of the last of these lines, to allude to the wit of her mother, and it is difficult to conceive that he could have had any other meaning, the passage lends some aid to the intention of this scanty memoir.

Engraved by W. Holl

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

OB. 1691.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

DENISON UNIVERSITY
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GRANVILLE, OHIO

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

A RELATION of the exercise of private virtues, and of the results of profound study, seldom excites general interest, and the events of Mr. Boyle's life are confined to a conduct invariably pious and moral, and to an almost infinite series of philosophical experiments, recorded by himself in treatises little less numerous.

He was the seventh son, and the fourteenth child, of Richard, the first Earl of Cork, a man who, through a rare combination of judgement, method, activity, and good fortune, rose without reproach from a state little removed from indigence to become the founder of immense wealth, and of a family dignified by more titles of nobility than have ever, either before or since his time, been distributed among the children of any individual British subject. His mother was Catharine, daughter of Sir Geoffroy Fenton, sometime Queen Elizabeth's principal Secretary of State for Ireland, and he was born at Lismore, in the county of Cork, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1626-7. All the particulars of his early life have been scrupulously preserved, by himself as well as others, for we have an account of them by his own pen, in which he describes himself under the name of Philaretus, even from his birth till he had reached manhood, and they exhibit some singularities worthy of notice. He tells us that his father, with the view of invigorating his health, subjected his infancy to hardships commonly endured by children only of the meanest peasants, which Aubrey, in his curious notices of the lives of eminent men, a few years since published from the originals in the Ashmolean

collection, illustrates by informing us that "he was nursed by an Irish nurse, after the Irish manner, where they put the child into a pendulous satchel, instead of a cradle, with a slit for the child's head to peep out." The experiment however failed, for he appears to have suffered throughout his life the inconveniences of a weakly constitution.

He received perhaps the most important part of his learned education at home, under one of his father's chaplains, for he attained there the rare habit of speaking Latin with perfect purity and fluency, for which he was ever after famous. He attributed this in a great measure to his performance of a singular task, worthy indeed of the diligence and patience which always distinguished him—the reading through, as he told Aubrey, of Cooper's Thesaurus, an immense dictionary, now scarcely remembered. He was sent however to Eton school, where he remained for more than four years, and where he tells us that he forgot much of his Latin; and is said, for he does not mention it, to have gone from thence for a short space to the university of Leyden, and then to Geneva, accompanied by his French Governor, as he terms him, a M. Marcombes, of whom, both as a tutor and a man, he gives a high character, and whose family resided in that city. There he sojourned till the year 1641, indulging in the study of mathematics, to which he had become ardently attached even from the date of his entrance at Eton, and devoting a great part of his time to profound scriptural inquiries, and to endeavours to solve the painful doubts and difficulties which had already begun to perplex his contemplative mind. In the autumn he passed into Italy, and took up his residence at Florence, where he remained till the ensuing March, when he went to Rome. He tells us that in this tour he relieved the severity of his studies, and of his application to objects yet more serious, by resolving, and executing his resolution, to pass over unexamined none of those infinitely varied curiosities of nature and art which distinguish the countries through which he passed; "nor did he sometimes scruple," adds he in the simplicity of his candour, "to visit, in

his governor's company, the famousest bordellos, whither resorting out of bare curiosity, he retained there an unblemished chastity, and still returned thence as honest as he went thither." Whatever be the degree of merit due to this forbearance in his seventeenth year, he is said to have practised it through life; and seems to have been not less impregnable by the impulses of the more refined and noble passion, for he never speaks of the female character but to decry it, or of love but for the sake of contemning it. "A man," says he, to use his own words in one of his essays, "must have very low and narrow thoughts of happiness or misery who can expect either from a woman's conduct."

In his journey from Rome little remarkable occurred. He tells us, with somewhat of ostentation, so difficult is it to keep the purest piety wholly clear of fanaticism, that he incurred some personal danger at Marseilles by refusing to take off his hat at the passing of the Crucifix, "as other English gentlemen did." He now again made his abode at Geneva, and returned not to England till 1644, shortly after the death of the Earl, his father, from whom he received a very great fortune. "His father, in his will," again says Aubrey, "when he comes to the settlement and provision for his son Robert, thus—'It^{m}. to my son Robert, whom I beseech God to blesse with a particular blessing, I bequeath,' &c. Mr. R. H. who has seene the rentall, sayes it was three thousand pounds p^{r}. ann. The greatest part is in Ireland. His father left him the mannor of Stalbridge, in com. Dorset, where is a great freestone house. It was forfeited by the Earle of Castlehaven." This occurring during the height of the grand rebellion, it became necessary that he should sue for permission to enjoy those estates, which, as some of his family stood well with the then ruling party, he readily obtained. The arrangement of this, and other affairs incident to such a change of circumstances, consumed much time, but in the beginning of the year 1646, he was enabled to fix his residence at Stalbridge.

It is said to have been at this period that he commenced the practice of chemistry, a science infinitely grateful to him, whose

mind, not less sober than active, delighted equally in inquiry and demonstration. It led him, insensibly, though rapidly, to extend his researches through all the branches of natural philosophy with an industry literally indefatigable. Himself became presently an object of wonder and curiosity. A man of noble birth, in all the pride of youth and wealth, devoting himself to the most abstruse studies, presented a phenomenon in the world of literature; and a crowd of the most learned and scientific of the age pressed forward to court his society, which he was by no means inclined to deny. He left the country therefore, and seems to have divided his time for some years between London and Oxford, in which seat of universal learning he at length fixed for a time his residence. In this interval he joined that learned body to which he is said to have given at the time the denomination of "the Invisible College," and which, after the Restoration, was incorporated under that of the Royal Society; and it was during his abode at Oxford that he invented the air-pump, or at least discovered and applied the principle on which it is founded, for we are told that "it was perfected for him" some years after, by the ingenious Mr. Robert Hooker.

In the mean time theology and morals had occupied little less of his attention than physics, and his labours and his life afforded an illustrious proof, in a time which stood much in need of such examples, that faith and virtue might be strengthened by an insight into those mysteries of nature which, by a strange perverseness, were, and are, frequently fantastically quoted with the design to weaken both. He now added to the fame of an acute natural philosopher that of a pious and learned divine. Lord Clarendon, and the good treasurer Southampton, for the advantage of the Church, and the honour of its ministry, pressed him to take holy orders, a proposal which, not without considerable deliberation, he declined. Bishop Burnet, who was in his confidence, and who preached his funeral sermon, tells us there that "his main reason was that he had so high a sense of the obligations of the pastoral care that he durst not undertake it, especially not

having felt within himself an inward motion to it by the Holy Ghost, and, the first question that is put to those who come to be initiated into the service of the church relating to that motion, he, who had not felt it, thought he durst not make the step lest he should have lyed to the Holy Ghost." So too, on conscientious scruples, he refused to accept the office of Provost of Eton, to which Charles the Second, in 1665, had of his own mere motion unexpectedly nominated him, and to which, in addition to his consciousness that he was peculiarly qualified for it, he really entertained a predilection, but he had persuaded himself that its duties could not be properly executed but by a priest. But his expenditure of money in the cause of Christianity may perhaps be vulgarly thought to afford the best proof of his affection to it. Burnet says that "he was at the charge of the translation and impression of the New Testament into the Malayan language, which he sent over all the East Indies; that he gave a noble reward to him that translated Grotius's incomparable book of the truth of the Christian religion into Arabic, and was at the charge of a whole impression, which he took care to be scattered in all the countries where that language is understood; that he was resolved to carry on the impression of the New Testament in the Turkish language, but that the Company thought it became them to be the doers of it, and so suffered him only to give a large share towards it; that he was at seven hundred pounds charge in the edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland, and contributed liberally both to the impressions of the Welsh and of the Irish Bible for Scotland; that he gave during his life three hundred pounds to advance the design of propagating the Christian religion in America, and, as soon as he had heard that the East India Company were entertaining propositions for a like design in the East, he presently sent a hundred pounds for a beginning and an example." His munificence to the ministers of religion was yet more splendid. The King had bestowed on him, in 1662, unasked and unexpectedly, a grant of forfeited impropriations in Ireland, nearly the whole profits of which he

divided among the incumbents of the several livings from which they were derived, and the widows of those who had died subsequently to the dates of the forfeitures. The Bishop adds, that his private charities exceeded the sum of a thousand pounds annually. He founded also a lecture on the truth of the Christian Religion, and endowed it with an annual stipend of fifty pounds.

In order to enable himself the more effectually to prosecute some of these beneficent plans, as well as to forward his philosophical inquiries, he accepted the office of a director of the East India Company; and, with the latter view, became in 1664 a member of the company of the Mines Royal. He was also governor of the corporation established for propagating the Gospel in New England. The multiplicity of his engagements, retired as most of them were in their nature, and the extended intimacy which he had formed with the most learned and scientific persons of his time, now drew him to London, the proper soil for the cultivation of such pursuits and such connections. He removed thither in the spring of 1668, and settled himself for the remainder of his life in Pall Mall, in the house of his sister, Catharine, Dowager Countess of Ranelagh, a lady of celebrated talents and merits, between whom and himself the most cordial attachment subsisted. That remainder, though it included many years, may be said to have passed without a single incident but such as occurred in the laboratory or the closet. The true history of this part of his life, then, is to be found in an account of his stupendously numerous works, which, as the most part of them were written and published during that period, has been purposely reserved for this place.

The first of these, in the form of a letter to his nephew, the Lord Dungarvon, was entitled "New Experiments, physico-mechanical, touching the spring of the air, and its effects," and was printed at Oxford, in 1660. Some arguments which he had founded on these experiments were controverted by Franciscus Linus and Mr. Hobbes, and defended by him in a supplement to a second edition, which he published two years after in London.

In 1660 also appeared one of the best known, because one of the best, of his religious works, which he had finished several years before, called "Seraphic Love, or some motives and incentives to the Love of God," which has been frequently reprinted, as well as translated into Latin. In the succeeding year we have "Certain Physiological Essays, and other Tracts;" and in 1662 "The Sceptical Chymist." Both of these works were republished, with large additions; the first in 1669; the second in 1679. In 1662 came out "Considerations touching the usefulness of experimental natural philosophy," and a letter with "Observations on a Diamond that shines in the dark;" a tract remarkable for its curious original remarks on the theory of light and colours. The next year produced "Considerations on the style of the Holy Scriptures;" an extract from a more extensive work which subsequently appeared, under the title of "an Essay on Scripture." In 1665 he published "Occasional Reflections on several subjects," with a prefatory discourse on such essays. It was this collection of solemn trifles, for such it really was, that called forth, sixty years after, Dean Swift's well-known "pious meditation on a broomstick." It was however reprinted, and was presently followed by "New Experiments and Observations upon Cold, or an experimental history of cold begun," which also again appeared. In 1666 he printed "Hydrostatical Paradoxes made out by new experiments, for the most part physical and easy;" and, immediately after, "The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuscular System." In 1669 he put forth "A Continuation of new experiments touching the spring and weight of the air," to which he added "a Discourse of the Atmospheres of consistent bodies;" and the following year produced "Tracts about the cosmical qualities of things; cosmical suspicions; and the bottom of the sea."

A paralytic attack now for a time suspended his labours, but he was enabled to resume them within a few months, and in 1671 printed a second part of "Considerations on the usefulness of experimental and natural Philosophy;" and "a Collection of Tracts upon several useful and important points of practical Philosophy;"

and in 1672, "an Essay on the origin and virtue of Gems;" and "Tracts upon the relation between flame and air." He published in the succeeding year "Essays on the strange subtilty, great efficacy, and determinate nature of Effluvia;" a series of "Tracts on the saltness of the sea, the moisture of the air, and the natural and preternatural state of bodies;" and "an Essay on the excellence of Theology compared with natural history;" which was followed, in 1674, by "a Collection of Tracts, containing suspicions about hidden qualities of the air, with an appendix touching cœlestial magnets, and a discourse of the cause of attraction and suction;" and, in 1675, by "Considerations on the reconcileableness of reason and religion, by T. E. a layman;" to which he added a "discourse on the possibility of the Resurrection." In the next year he published "Experiments and notes about the mechanical origin or production of particular qualities, and among the rest of Electricity;" 1678, "an Historical account of a Degradation of gold, made by an Anti-elixir;" in 1680, "the Aerial Noctiluca, a process of a factitious self-shining substance;" in 1681, "a Discourse of things above reason, enquiring whether a philosopher should admit that there are any such;" in 1682, "New Experiments and Observations on the Icy Noctiluca," with "a chemical paradox, grounded upon new experiments, making it probable that chemical principles are transmutable, so that out of one of them others may be produced;" and also "a Continuation of new experiments, physico-mechanical, touching the spring and weight of the air, and their effects." In the succeeding year he printed a letter to Dr. Beal, on the making of fresh water out of salt; and in the next, "Memoirs for the natural history of the human blood;" and "Experiments and considerations about the porosity of bodies."

In 1685 his indefatigable pen produced "Short Memoirs for the natural experimental history of mineral waters"—"Essays on the great effects of even, languid, and unheeded motion; and on the salubrity and insalubrity of the air"—"a treatise on the reconcileableness of specific medicines to the corpuscular philosophy"

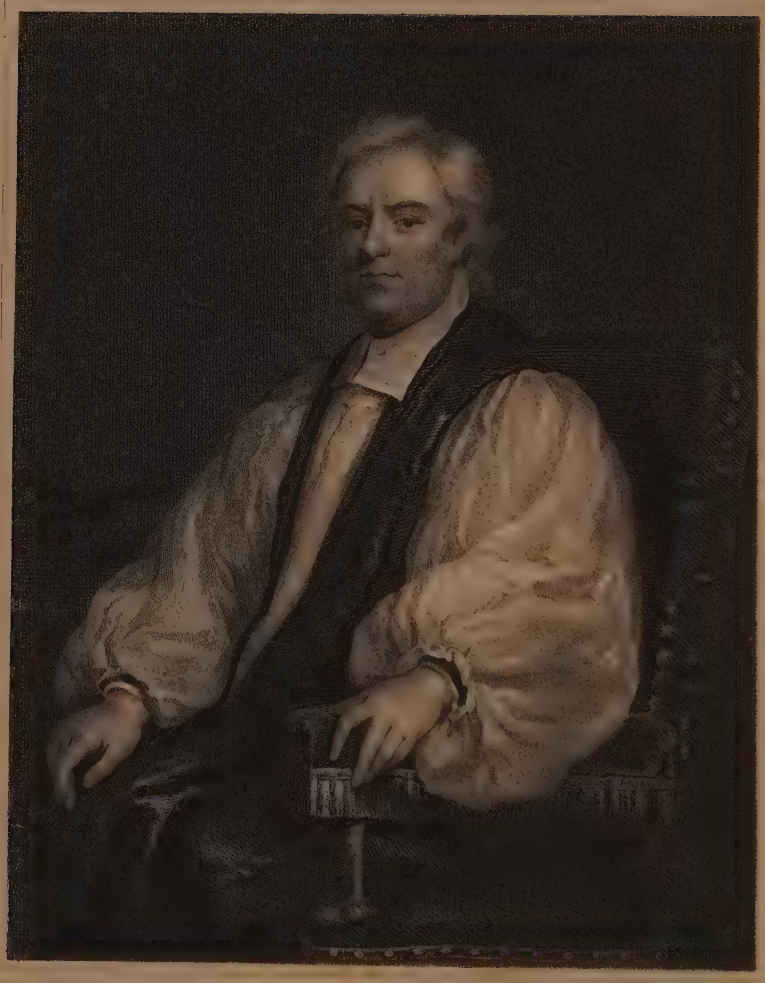
—and another "of the high veneration man's Intellect owes to God, peculiarly for his wisdom and power." In 1686 he printed "a free Enquiry into the vulgarly received notion of Nature;" in 1687, "The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus," one of his earliest, and perhaps most insignificant publications: and in the succeeding year, "a Disquisition about the final causes of natural things, and whether a naturalist should admit them." In 1690 appeared "Medicina Hydrostatica, or hydrostatics applied to the Materia Medica;" and "the Christian Virtuoso, shewing that by being addicted to experimental philosophy a man is rather assisted than indisposed to be a good Christian;" and in 1691, the last year of his life, as well as of his labours, "Experimenta et Observationes Physicæ," wherein are briefly treated of several subjects relating to natural history in an experimental way. In addition to this enormous catalogue, not to mention numerous pieces printed by the Royal Society, we are told that he left unpublished nineteen theological, and thirty-six philosophical, tracts, several of which afterwards issued from the press.

"He had," says Burnet, "for almost forty years laboured under such a feebleness of body, and such lowness of strength and spirits, that it will appear a surprising thing to imagine how it was possible for him to read, to meditate, to try experiments, and to write, as he did. He bore all his infirmities and some sharp pains with the decency and submission that became a Christian Philosopher. He was advised to a very ungrateful simplicity of diet, which by all appearance was that which preserved him so long beyond all men's expectation. This he observed so strictly, that in a course of above thirty years he neither eat nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature. He had a feebleness in his sight: his eyes were so well used by him, that it will be easily imagined he was very tender of them. He did also imagine that if sickness obliged him to lie long in bed, it might raise the pains of the stone in him to a degree that was beyond his weak strength to bear, so that he feared that his last minutes might be too hard for him. I mention these, the rather that I may have

occsaion to shew the goodness of God in the two things that he feared, for his sight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died, and when death came upon him he had not been above three hours a bed before it made an end of him, with so little uneasiness that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame." That event occurred on the thirteenth of December, 1691; probably somewhat hastened by the loss of his beloved sister and companion, the Lady Ranelagh, who after a long illness expired in the same house a few days before him. He was buried with her in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster. Mr. Boyle was never married.

Burnet, who was no flatterer, after ascribing to him every religious and moral perfection, closes his eulogy with this summary of his acquired talents—" His knowledge was of so vast an extent, that if it were not for the variety of vouchers in their several sorts, I should be afraid to say all I know. He carried the study of the Hebrew very far into the Rabbinical writings, and other Oriental Languages. He had read so much of the Fathers, that he had formed out of it a clear judgment of all the eminent ones. He had read a vast deal on the Scriptures, and had gone very nicely through the whole controversies of religion, and was a true master in the whole body of Divinity. He ran the whole compass of the mathematical sciences; and though he did not set himself to spring new game, yet he knew even the abstrusest parts of geometry, geography, in the several parts of it that related to navigation or travelling; history, and books of travels, were his diversions. He went very nicely through all the parts of physic, only the tenderness of his nature made him less able to endure the exactness of anatomical dissections, especially of living animals, though he knew these to be the most interesting; but for the History of Nature, ancient and modern, of the productions of all countries, of the virtues and improvement of plants, of ores, of minerals, and of all the varieties that are in them in different climates, he was by much, by very much the readiest and the perfectest I ever knew, in the greatest compass, and with the greatest exactness.

This put him in the way of making all that vast variety of experiments beyond any man, as far as we know, that ever lived, and in these as he made great progress in new discoveries, so he used so nice a strictness, and delivered them with so scrupulous a truth, that all who have examined them have found how safely the world may depend upon them. But his peculiar and favorite study was chemistry, in which he engaged with none of those ravenous and ambitious designs that draw many into them. His design was only to find out nature, to see into what principles things might be resolved, and to prepare good medicaments for the bodies of men. He spent neither his time nor his fortune upon vain pursuits of high promises or pretensions, and as he made chemistry much the better for his dealing in it, so he never made himself either the worse or the poorer for it. It was a charity to others as well as an entertainment to himself, for the produce of it was distributed by his sister and others into whose hands he put it. I will not here amuse you with a list of his astonishing knowledge, or of his great performances in this way. They are highly valued all the world over, and his name is every where mentioned with particular characters of respect. I will conclude this article with this, in which I appeal to all competent judges, that few men, if any, have been known to have made so great a compass and to have been so exact in all parts of it as he was."



Engraved by W. Holl

JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1694.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR GODFREY KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PROOF

JOHN TILLOTSON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This prelate, whose character and conduct formed a worthy illustration of the principles of that religion of which he was a zealous and distinguished minister, was born in the autumn of the year 1630, at Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, and was the eldest son of Robert Tillotson, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Dobson, of the same place. His father, a substantial clothier there, was a man of acknowledged piety, and remarkable for his profound knowledge of the Scriptures, and for the ardour with which he professed the system of Calvin. The early education of the son was conducted among persons of the same persuasion; but it was, also, upon the most liberal scale that the circumstances of the times and his father's means could afford. In 1647, he was matriculated of Clare Hall, Cambridge, commenced Bachelor of Arts, in 1650, in the following year was elected Fellow of his college, and in 1654 took his degree of Master of Arts. The society into which he fell at Cambridge had the effect of eradicating the notions he had imbibed from his earlier associations; and Chillingworth's celebrated work, "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," is said to have led him to those orthodox conclusions which were confirmed by the conversation of Cudworth and other equally eminent theologians who were resident at the university with him, and which he ever afterwards earnestly and beneficially maintained.

In 1657, he became tutor to the son of Edmund Prideaux, of

Ford Abbey, in Devonshire, a distinguished lawyer, who had been a Commissioner of the Great Seal under the Long Parliament, and who then held the office of Cromwell's Attorney-General. It is said that he performed the duties of chaplain in the family of this gentleman, but it is at least clear that he had then resolved to devote himself to the service of the church. He soon afterwards preached in London; and, having submitted himself to the provisions of the act of uniformity in 1662, he served the curacy of Cheshunt, in Herts. In the latter part of this year, he was elected minister of the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, of which Edmund Calamy had been deprived for nonconformity; but, not choosing to accept of this benefice, he was, in the June following, presented to the rectory of Keddington, in Suffolk. The doctrines which he preached there were not well received by his parishioners, who were nearly all Calvinists, and whose former minister had just before been ejected for his refusal to conform: Mr. Tillotson having, at the same time that he discovered this circumstance, been invited by the Society of Lincoln's Inn to accept the office of their preacher, gladly renounced his living for an occupation which, though less lucrative, was more agreeable to his feelings. In London his talents were properly appreciated, and he soon became one of the most popular divines of the metropolis. He had cultivated with great assiduity, and with that success which cannot fail to attend the labours of true genius, in whatever direction it may be exerted, those branches of eloquence which are most suitable to the pulpit. He had conceived an early disgust for the vulgar vehemence which too often characterised the sermons of enthusiastic preachers of the various sects of Presbyterians and Puritans. To avoid this gross fault, and to maintain that dignified simplicity which is best adapted to the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of religion, were his main objects. His style was clear and plain, impressive without affectation, majestic without violence or false pomp, and at once grateful to the taste of the most cultivated auditories, without ever soaring above the capacities of the most humble; it was this rare excellence which gained for him the appro-

bation of all who heard him, and ensured the attendance of numerous congregations wherever he was called upon to discharge his duties.

It was not in the pulpit alone that Mr. Tillotson laboured in the support of the church to which he had dedicated himself; he defended its doctrines by an able reply to a book published in 1664, by John Serjeant, alias Smith, who had renounced the protestant religion for that of the church of Rome; and he also assisted and encouraged the elaborate and costly publication of the "Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum," undertaken by Matthew Pool, and which appeared in 1669.

In 1666, the degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him; and in 1668 he preached at the consecration of his friend, Dr. Wilkins, as Bishop of Chester. In 1670, he was made a prebendary, and, two years afterwards, dean of the cathedral of Canterbury. In 1675, he was preferred to the prebend of Eadland, and in 1678, to that of Oxgate, when he became also a residentiary in the church of St. Paul, London. He had by this time gained a high reputation as well for learning and ability as for the unimpeachable propriety of his conduct in private life. From the political discussions which then occupied the minds and influenced the characters of almost all men in prominent stations, he held wholly aloof. It was not, however, possible for him to avoid taking a part in the dissensions that existed between the supporters of the established church and the protestant sectarians, who maintained a difference of opinion with great firmness, and occasionally with a degree of violence which the subject by no means justified. In discharging the painful duty which was thus imposed upon him, he invariably displayed a desire to conciliate, and a moderation of temper, which, although they failed to influence those of his own party, ensured him the respect and goodwill of the more reasonable of his opponents. Charles, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Shrewsbury, an orphan of a Roman Catholic family, having, on attaining manhood, begun to entertain doubts concerning the faith in which he was bred, Dr. Tillotson's advice and assistance were solicited, and his arguments and persuasions

were so successfully employed that the young nobleman became, after diligent and earnest investigation of the important subject, a convert to the system of the reformed church. Some parts of his Grace's conduct afterwards gave rise to the report that, although he had renounced the religion of his ancestors, he had not adopted the principles or performed the duties which are incumbent on every man professing Christianity. Dr. Tillotson, on this occasion, addressed a letter to his convert in a style of pure and simple eloquence which is not less remarkable for its convincing force than for the absence of all arguments drawn merely from theological authorities: it is a manly remonstrance, appealing to the good sense and honourable feelings of the young nobleman, and full of that concern which it professes, that he "should rather continue a virtuous and good man than have become a protestant."

The estimation in which he was held by the members of his own profession was testified on several occasions. Dr. Burnet, with whom he lived on intimate terms, submitted his History of the Reformation to his revisal. Dr. Wilkins left his manuscripts to his care, from which Dr. Tillotson selected and published the treatise "on the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion," and a volume of Sermons: and he performed a similar office for his friend Dr. Barrow, whose Sermons were printed after his death, under the superintendence of Dr. Tillotson.

On the occasion of Lord Russell's arrest, Tillotson, who had long been acquainted with him, attended him with all the assiduity of the most anxious friendship; appeared as a witness in his favour on his trial, cheered the last days of his imprisonment; nor quitted him until that awful moment when the world closed upon him. He has been blamed, by partisans whose zeal has obscured their judgment, for the efforts he made to induce that ill-fated nobleman to retract some of the political opinions he professed. The disinterestedness and purity of Tillotson's character are a sufficient answer to such censures; and his excuse, if he needed one, would be abundantly furnished by his sincere belief that a compliance with his request would have saved the life of his friend.

On the accession of William the Third, Dr. Tillotson was appointed Clerk of the Closet, and admitted into the favour and confidence of the Monarch and his consort. In September, 1689, he gave up his deanery of Canterbury for that of St. Paul, and once more exerted himself, though still without success, in endeavouring to reconcile the scruples of the dissenters respecting the liturgy, and to remove some of the restrictions which pressed upon them. In the same year, Archbishop Sancroft having been suspended for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, Dr. Tillotson was elected by the chapter of his cathedral to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury; and on Sancroft being deprived, he was nominated by the King to fill the office of Primate. Against accepting this dignity he remonstrated with great earnestness and unquestionable sincerity. There was nothing in it but its distinction to tempt any man; ambition was certainly not one of his faults, and for all honourable and useful ends he was already sufficiently distinguished. He knew, too, that to succeed the deprived prelate would at once expose him to all the virulence and invective of a numerous party, whose dissatisfaction had already carried them beyond the bounds of decency. At length he was overcome, though not convinced, and on the thirty-first of May, 1691, was consecrated, at Bow Church, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the most eminent dignitaries of the church, and some of the first noblemen of the court.

His accession to the See of Canterbury produced the consequences he had foreseen. Not only was he assailed by the insults and libels of all who shared the opinions with which Sancroft was identified, but the zealous members of the Church of which he had become the head regarded his moderation towards the dissenters as an unpardonable crime. The approbation of his own conscience, and the appeal which he could confidently make to a long and useful life, passed in the face of the public, were sufficient to sustain his temper against the unfounded imputations of those who were his enemies because they were the foes of virtue and rectitude; but that appetite for slander, that proneness rather to

believe evil than to admit the proof of good, which were as rife in his day as they are in our own, had the effect of blackening his reputation in the eyes of the vulgar. The artifices and attacks of his adversaries produced, however, no effect upon his conduct, and least of all could they provoke him to visit upon their authors the punishment they had deserved. When several persons who had been engaged in circulating some of the scurrilous publications issued against him were arrested, he exerted his interest with the government to shield them from condemnation. Of those more private insults which were directed against him personally, whatever pain they might have occasioned him, he took no notice; but after his death a bundle of libels was found among his papers with this inscription in his own writing—"These are libels. I pray God forgive them; I do."

When he found himself in possession of the power attached to his new office, he endeavoured to exert it for the purifying and perfecting the ecclesiastical constitution, for which he had laid many noble designs. The difficulties which presented themselves were, however, so many, and the time he was destined to enjoy that power so short, that he was unable to accomplish his objects. At his request Dr. Burnet wrote his "Discourse of the Pastoral Care," in which some of the Archbishop's views are developed; and he procured the Queen's encouragement of that Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles which was performed also by Burnet, and which was warmly applauded by Dr. Tillotson. On the eighteenth of November, 1694, while in the chapel at Whitehall, he was seized with a sudden illness, which on the thirtieth of the same month terminated his existence, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. The disease was a palsy, so severe that it impeded his utterance, but yet left him the power of expressing his resignation to the will of God, and the satisfaction of a quiet conscience. The manner of his death was consistent with the tenour of his life, and exhibited an eminent proof of the power of religion over the awful terrors which attend the separation of the soul from the body.

The expenses of his see, the payment of his predecessor's debts, which he took upon himself, and the liberal discharge of the duties of charity and hospitality which belonged to his station, had so exhausted his income, that if the King had not relinquished the first-fruits, he would not at his death have possessed sufficient to pay his debts. When they were satisfied, it was found that all which remained for the support of his family consisted of his posthumous sermons, the copyright of which was sold for two thousand five hundred guineas. He left a widow, Elizabeth, the daughter of a Mr. French, by a sister of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he had been married in February, 1663-4, and by whom he had two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, who died in his life-time. On his death, the King granted his widow a pension of four hundred pounds a year for her life, to which two hundred pounds were added three years afterwards, and which she continued to enjoy till her death, on the twentieth of January, 1702.

Of his abilities and learning, his voluminous works furnish the most satisfactory memorial, and justify the opinion of that sound critic, Dr. Jortin, who has said, "this should not be forgotten, that of those who passed their judgments upon him, there never was a son of absurdity who did not dislike, nor a sensible reader who did not approve, his writings." His person has been described by Mr. Beardmore, who had been his pupil at Cambridge, with great minuteness in these terms: "His countenance was fair and very amiable; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous; all which were the air and index of his excellent soul and spirit. His hair brown and bushy; he was moderately tall; very slender and sparing in his youth; his constitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat when grown in age, which increased more and more as long as he lived; but yet was neither a burthen to himself nor in the least unseemly to others."

Engraved by H. Robinson

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

OB. 1697.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall M.^t

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

From a Yorkshire family, seated at Appletrewick, in Craven, from which district doubtless it derived its surname, sprung Sir William Craven, a younger son, who became a merchant and Alderman of London, acquired great wealth, and served the offices of Sheriff and Lord Mayor. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Whitmore, of that city, and he had by her three sons, and two daughters, both of whom were married to powerful Peers. Of the sons, William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest; John, the second, was created by King Charles the First, in 1643, Lord Craven, of Ryton, in Shropshire, and left no issue; and Thomas, the youngest, died unmarried. William therefore not only inherited his father's extensive possessions, but became at length heir to those of his brothers.

He was born early in the year 1606, and even from his childhood manifested a strong passion for a military life, which he was permitted to gratify before he came of age in active service in Germany, and in the Netherlands under Henry Prince of Orange, where, in addition to the most determined bravery, he is said to have displayed all those qualities of mind that are esteemed essential in the character of a commander. He returned in the spring of 1627, on the fourth of March, in which year he was knighted, and on the twelfth of the same month raised to the rank of a baron, by the title of Lord Craven, of Hamsted Marshall, in Berks. Having passed more than three years in courtly and rural occupations not at all to his taste, a new oppor-

tunity for warfare offered itself, and he seized it with eagerness. In 1631 the King despatched a considerable body of English troops to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, who had attacked the Emperor of Germany in his country, and had on his part engaged to use his best efforts to reinstate the Elector Palatine, nominal King of Bohemia, and the unfortunate brother-in-law to Charles, in the possession of his hereditary dominions. Whether Lord Craven embarked in this expedition with any distinct command, or in the character of a volunteer, is uncertain; his conduct however in the field raised his military reputation to the utmost, and excited the admiration even of the heroic Swede, by whom he was presently admitted not only to favour but to confidence. He marched with that Prince in February, 1632, from Bavaria into the Palatinate, where he distinguished himself by a valour almost romantic in the siege of the strong fortress of Creutznach, in the successful assault of which he first entered the breach. Gustavus, brave as he was, could not help telling him that "he gave his younger brother too many chances for his estate;" and rejoiced no less that he had escaped only with a wound in his thigh from a pike than for the fortunate result of the enterprise.

The King of Sweden fell at Lutzen almost immediately after this event, and his death was presently followed by that of the King of Bohemia. Craven now attached himself and his sword to the cause of that Prince's son, the young Elector Palatine, whose various fortunes he seems to have shared till the year 1637, when the Emperor finally crushed the hopes of that ill-fated House in a decisive action, and, the Elector having with difficulty saved himself by flight, his brother Rupert, and Lord Craven, fell into the hands of the victors. It was probably about this period that he became intimately known to Elizabeth, the mother of those royal youths, whose exquisitely amiable qualities, joined to no inconsiderable share of personal beauty, had justly obtained for her the title of "the Queen of Hearts." He now devoted himself romantically to her. When she took refuge in Holland, where she at length settled for the remainder of her life, he

followed her, and entered into the service of the House of Nassau. They became inseparable. He husbanded and aided her impoverished purse, regulated her household, and superintended all her affairs. Reports naturally arose that they were secretly married, and there is abundant reason to believe that such was the fact. He returned no more to England till after the Restoration, but stood aloof, brave and loyal as he certainly was, beholding, in a tranquil inactivity which could scarcely be ascribed to any weaker motive than that passion which frequently absorbs all others, his country for years in arms, and his King gradually declining from the throne to the scaffold.

That this forbearance on his part arose not, however, from disaffection or negligence was clearly proved. No man contributed more largely to the necessities of the Crown, or suffered severer penalties for his loyalty, than himself. The whole of his great revenue was devoted during the war to the King, and to his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards to the maintenance of a shadow of royalty in the little court of the exiled Charles the Second. The parliament at length marked him as a victim, and an infamous person of the name of Falconer was procured to swear that the Lord Craven had promoted a petition from several persons praying the King to employ them against the rulers in England, who were designated in that petition "barbarous and inhuman rebels." This testimony was supported, if it may be so said, by the depositions of two others, somewhat more conscientious, who would report no further than that they had seen him waiting on the King at Breda, and that Charles had intrusted to him the care of one of his natural children. On the strength of this wretched evidence the Parliament resolved on the sixteenth of March, 1650-1, that "the Lord Craven was an offender within the meaning and intention of the declaration of the twenty-fourth of August, 1649, that all persons who might adhere to, or aid and assist Charles Stuart, son to the late King, should be deemed traitors and rebels; that the estate of the said Lord Craven should be confiscated accordingly; and that the commis-

sioners appointed for such purposes should seize and sequester all his estates, real and personal, and receive the rents and profits to the use of the commonwealth." The parliament, however, degenerate as it was, hesitated long on the question whether this unjust sentence should be executed, but at length, after many debates and divisions, a bill for the sale of all his property was passed by a majority of three voices, on the third of August, 1653, and this act of rapine was aggravated to the utmost by the almost incredible fact that on the second of the preceding May Falconer had been convicted of perjury in giving the very testimony which had furnished a pretext for it. His estates were now allotted, for the most part, to the very men whose votes had deprived him of them.

The injuries thus sustained, and the services which he had rendered, were somewhat compensated by Charles the Second, who, immediately after the Restoration, advanced him to the titles of Viscount Craven of Uffington in Berks, and Earl of Craven in Yorkshire, and about the same time called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum of Berks. The colonelcy of the regiment of guards then and still called "the Coldstream," was some years after bestowed on him, and he held, probably at a yet later date, the office of High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and a share in the proprietary of the province of Carolina in North America; he was also Master of the Trinity House. In 1665, having no issue, he obtained a new patent to settle his barony of Craven on Sir William Craven, of Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, great-grandson and heir male of his uncle Henry, elder brother to his father, and in right of descent from that Sir William it is now held by the nobleman to whom the rest of the titles have been of late years granted.

The Earl of Craven lived to a great age, always kindly received at Court, because he asked no favours there, and lived in an easy familiarity with men of all parties because he had attached himself to none. It is said of him that "he was one of the

most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject; charitable; abstemious as to himself, generous to others; familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved." It may be added, perhaps, that he was somewhat of a humourist. We are told that he had a singular inclination, almost a passion, for conflagrations, and that it was his custom to have a horse always ready for him to mount in the moment of his receiving the news of a house on fire. He indulged this disposition with much public benefit in the great calamity of 1666, in which he is said to have been not only to the last degree active, but eminently useful. So too had he been in the awful visitation of the preceding year, during which he remained constantly in London, advising on the best means of preventing the contagion, and even visiting the infected, to whom indeed it may be said that his care was extended even after their death, for he gave a piece of land for the burial exclusively of those who should die of the plague then or thereafter. When buildings were erected on this ground, which is the site of Carnaby Market, a field on his estate at Paddington was given in exchange for it, which is yet, at least nominally, subject to the provision in question.

This nobleman died unmarried, at his house in Drury Lane, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, on the ninth of April, 1697, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry.

Engraved by J. Cochran

WILLIAM RUSSELL, DUKE OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1700.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

WILLIAM RUSSELL,

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

This nobleman, the first of his eminent family that was advanced to the highest rank of the peerage, was the eldest son of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, by Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos. He was born in 1613, and received his education at Magdalen College, in Oxford. The few circumstances of his life which have been handed down to us are chiefly of a domestic nature. Soon after he returned from his travels he became violently enamoured of a young lady, to whose exquisite beauty a portrait in this work bears ample testimony, nor were the qualities of her mind less admirable, and his passion was met by her with equal ardour. She was the only child of that unhappy and guilty pair, Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, the divorced Countess of Essex. The Earl, his father, with feelings for which no apology is necessary, vehemently opposed their union, and was at last induced by the King's express interposition to give it his unwilling consent; but his conduct in the arrangements for the nuptials was neither dignified nor delicate. Somerset's fortune, as well as his character, had been lost in the dark abyss of ruin into which he had plunged himself: his last remaining comfort was his daughter, whom he loved with the most tender fondness; and the Earl of Bedford now left him no alternative but to reduce himself to beggary, or to destroy, probably for ever, her peace: he insisted on a portion of twelve thousand pounds for the wife

of his son, and Somerset, to whom of the wealth which James had heaped on him scarcely any thing remained but his house at Chiswick, sold it, together with the furniture, and his plate and jewels, to raise that sum, saying that, "since her affections were settled, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy."

He was a member of that wretched assembly which met on the third of November 1640, and is known by the appellation of the Long Parliament. His father, a man of restless and ambitious temper, had from the commencement of the public discords attached himself to the popular party, with the view of forcing on the King an administration to be formed and headed by himself; and Lord Russell, as might be expected, obeyed in some measure the dictates, and followed the example, of his parent. But his disposition was mild and moderate, and his future conduct with regard to public affairs soon proved the just value which he set on a name too exalted to be tarnished by any arts but those which spring from party intrigue, and an inheritance too mighty to be shaken but by such popular convulsions as might threaten the existence even of empires. He accepted, it is true, the command of General of the Horse, under the Earl of Essex, in the army first raised by the Parliament, his commission for which was granted on the fourteenth of July, 1642, two months after he had succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, and was almost immediately detached, with a powerful body of cavalry, and seven thousand foot, to harass the Marquis of Hertford in the western counties, where that nobleman was employed in levying forces for the King. He conducted the enterprise with vigour and success; rejoined the main army; and distinguished himself on the twenty-fourth of the following October at the battle of Edge Hill, where he commanded that reserve of Horse which gained the reputation of having, by a timely relief, saved the Parliament army from total discomfiture: but he quitted the rebel service within one year from the date at which he entered it. History affords us no clue to the motives

which induced him to this sudden step; the testimony however of a long remaining life, marked by the highest honour and probity in private concerns, and by an unsuspected, though passive, loyalty, leaves us little room to doubt that his secession ought to be widely distinguished from the unworthy vacillations of many of his compeers.

Towards the end of the summer of 1643 he repaired to London with Essex, and some other noblemen of the party, who had at length determined to use their utmost efforts to accomplish a peace, and voted for a conference with the Commons, which was held on the fifth of August, to settle the terms which it might be proper to propose to the King, and to assure them of the concurrence and steady support of the House of Peers. They arrived however but to behold the rapid decline of that great branch of the legislature; and the Earl of Bedford, disappointed in the salutary views which he had too late conceived, and threatened, and even pursued, by a wild and savage mob, to the raising of which he had unwittingly contributed his own great authority, resolved to fly to Oxford, and place himself under the protection of the King. Amidst difficulties and dangers, he reached Wallingford, in Berkshire, the royal garrison nearest to London, where he was admitted by the Governor, who would not however allow him to proceed without orders from the Privy Council, in which it was long debated, with great heat, whether he should be received; at length the King, who was then besieging Gloucester, came for one day to Oxford, purposely to decide the question, and commanded that he should be sent for, together with the Earl of Holland, who had left the rebel army with him, and had now accompanied him in his journey. Charles received him graciously, and not only readily granted his request of pardon, which he soon after prudently took out under the Great Seal, but accepted his offer of personal service; and, having joined the royal army, he was present in the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, where, says Lord Clarendon, "he charged in the King's regiment of horse very bravely, and behaved him-

self throughout very well." He returned to Oxford with the King, who treated him with a marked condescension, and even apparent confidence, but the carriage of the Court and Council towards him was less complaisant. He became disgusted, and on the following Christmas day, rather in the character of a visitor than a partisan, once more joined the Earl of Essex, who then lay with his army at St. Albans. He had in the mean time secretly, as Lord Clarendon observes, "made his peace at Westminster," whither he repaired soon after, to his own house, and was, for form's sake, committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod; a sequestration was put also on his estates, which, however, together with his person, were presently released. Those whom the fortune of war had converted into rulers, satisfied with having detached him from the royal cause, required no further active service from him, and he buried himself in retirement till the total extinction of the rebellion.

In the spring of 1660, when the Peers once more met, preparatory to the Restoration, he joined them with becoming cheerfulness, and lent a steady and sincere aid to that great measure. He remained however unemployed, either in court or ministry, till his death, and seems to have observed an honest neutrality amidst the factions which distracted the three reigns under which he was destined yet to live. In the innumerable tracts which have issued from the press on the subject of that conspiracy which unhappily deprived him of his eldest son, his name is never mentioned, save than to state that he offered a hundred thousand pounds to the Duchess of Portsmouth to prevail on the King to spare a life so precious to him, and to record the bitter taunt which he flung at James the Second, when in the last agonies of his expiring sovereignty. "My Lord," said that miserable Prince, when for the last time he called about him the few eminent persons who had not yet joined his adversary, "you are a good man: you have much interest with the Peers: you can do me service with them to-day." The Earl, with a pardonable vengeance, replied, "Alas, Sir, I am old and

useless—but I once had a son, who might have served your Majesty on this occasion."

When the Prince and Princess of Orange mounted the Throne he was sworn of their Privy Council; was soon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Middlesex; and on the eleventh of May, 1694, was advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford. He married Anne, daughter and heir, as has been before observed, to Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and had issue by her six sons, and three daughters. Francis, the eldest son, who died in 1679, unmarried; William, who perished on the scaffold on the twenty-first of July, 1683, from whom the present noble Duke is lineally descended; Edward, and Robert, both of whom married, but died childless; James, and George, also married, but from whom no male issue now remains. The daughters were Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly, to William, Lord Allington in Ireland; and Margaret, wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. The Duke, their father, died on the seventh of September, 1700, and was buried with his ancestors at Cheyneys in the county of Bucks. Some account of his character is to be found in a sermon, preached on the occasion of his death, by Samuel Freeman, D.D. rector of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and as nothing to the same purpose occurs elsewhere in print, I will insert a few passages from it, without apologising for their triteness and redundancies.

"Who can sufficiently admire or fully imitate the sweetness of his temper, and the benignity of his nature. The greatness of his birth made him the more humble; the height of his condition did not exalt his mind; there was nothing of pride and fastidiousness in his conversation; 'twas all condescension, without being mean and cheap. That man had a great deal of demerit in him indeed that was wholly refused admittance into his presence, and none ever went uneasy out of it whose requests were reasonable, and their persons not unworthy. Nothing but sin

had his frown. The good actions of men had his praise; their weakness his excuse; their afflictions his pity; and their distresses his succour. His piety towards God was sincere and unaffected; his devotions in the closet daily; in public constant, uniform, and regular. He had indeed a charitable opinion of all good men who did not come up in all points to the church of England, but he utterly disliked schism and separation. His religion was inward; in reality and substance, not placed in externals. He was very much for unity and peace in the Church; but his opinion was that they might be preserved by a mutual forbearance in matters of ceremony without a rigid imposition of them, and he was wont to say that he thought it equally superstitious to shew too much zeal, either for or against them; but, whilst he 'made known his moderation unto all men,' and bestowed his favours too upon many whom he judged conscientious though of a different persuasion, he ever in his practice kept close to the Church of England. You might see him, unless prevented by sickness, or other necessary occasion, every Lord's day at church, and there behaving himself with the greatest devotion, strictest attention, and humblest reverence, especially at the blessed sacrament; communicating frequently; always on his knees, and with most ardent affections; and ever expressing a great uneasiness and dissatisfaction when unexpected accidents kept him, as he used sensibly to call it, from 'the food of his soul.'

"Here was the family wherein not an oath nor a profane jest could be heard; where sobriety was habitual, virtue and religion triumphed, and the worship of God daily and devoutly performed; and so highly conducive did he think the public worship of God to be, for the glory of God, and salvation of souls, that he gave such orders for the affairs of his family on the Lord's day that most of his servants were at liberty timely to attend upon it, and none of them wholly let and hindered from it. The concern also he had for God's house was answerable to the veneration he had for his worship. He was always ready to promote any design for the erecting chapels and churches where there were none, and

increasing the number of them where they were thin. In the time of the civil war, when every thing almost of order and decency was called superstition, as he was passing by where the possessed soldiers were pulling down part of a church, and the ornaments of it, and asked of him to give them something to encourage the work, he said to those about him, 'My father and I have built several churches, and, by the help of God, I'll pull none down.' His beneficence and alms were of the same piece with his piety. He was never backward to forgive; always ready to distribute. His charity, like that of God's, was universal; not confined to sects and parties, but flowing abundantly towards all men, yet discreetly placed and proportioned, according as men's needs and capacities presented, giving most where it was most wanted and where it might be to the best purposes. He loved good Christians of what denomination soever, many of which subsisted by his bounty; and for others, whose virtue was suspected and their conversation of no good report, whilst he hated hypocrisy and vice, he relieved their persons, shewing himself a true friend to mankind, and a benefactor to the human nature. It was his daily prayer that, next to the pardon of his sins, God would give him an easy passage; and God was pleased to hear his prayer: never did person leave the world with greater inward peace, a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomfiture, and with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection, than he did. His lamp of life was not blown out: the oil wasted by degrees, and the flame went out: nature was quite tired and spent, and he fell asleep."

ROBERT SPENCER, EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

OB. 1702.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF CARLO MARATTA, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL SPENCER.

ROBERT SPENCER

SECOND EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

When Addison, at the instance of Queen Anne's Whig ministry, called on Edmund Smith to engage him to write a history of the revolution of 1688, "What," said Smith, "shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?" The question was unanswerable. It would have been necessary to the decorum, as well as to the objects, of such a work, to ascribe that revolution, according to the custom in all such cases, entirely to the wisdom and virtue of the few by whom it was wrought; to the purity of their patriotism, and the fervour of their zeal for the Church of England; but the author was too honest to tell the story in that way, and the Whigs too discreet to permit that it should be told in any other, and the design was therefore laid aside. Of the two great parties which then divided the nation, thus left to misjudge for itself, one was unwilling to damp its triumph, and interrupt the tide of its gratitude for real or fancied benefits, by examining into the motives of its leaders, and the other careless of making enquiries the fruits of which it durst not have promulgated. The truth therefore long remained unknown: but time has removed those impediments, and an unrestrained historical diligence has gradually detected in the conduct of those leaders as much selfishness, treachery, and ingratitude, as are to be found in the story of any other great national

change on record. At the head of the persons to whom all those censures were eminently due, certainly stood the Earl of Sunderland.

He was the only son of that model of true nobility, Henry third Lord Spencer, who was advanced to the Earldom by King Charles the first, and fell, about three months after, at the battle of Newbury, by Dorothy, daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the lady so highly celebrated by Waller, under the name of Sacharissa. The precise date of his birth is not known, but it was in 1640, or the following year: neither have we any intelligence of the place or method of his education, except a slight notice by Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, which informs us that his tutor, a Dr. Pearce, used to say of him that he had at once such an aptness and willingness to learn that the teaching him seemed rather a recreation and reward than an employment. He set out on his travels later, and remained abroad longer than was usual with young men of his rank; and thus, with the advantages of a more mature judgment to direct, and a better leisure to digest, the observations of a most acute and inquisitive mind, returned universally informed and accomplished. The State however alone could furnish occupation for a man of his rank, and his genius peculiarly qualified him for the management of that new sort of government which presently succeeded the restoration, the chief art of which consisted in the adroit concealment, at home and abroad, of its unworthy and uncertain principles. The commencement of his public employment furnished him with abundant means for the exercise of this mysterious disposition in several foreign missions. In 1671 he was appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, and in the autumn of the following year to that of Paris: in 1673 he was one of the Plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Cologne; and, soon after his return from that service, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1674, was sworn of the Privy Council.

He remained in England for four years, without any specific appointment, courting the friendship and confidence of the Trea-

surer Danby, which he seems to have gained; watching carefully the state of parties; and forming plans for his own future aggrandisement. In July, 1678, he was again sent ambassador extraordinary to Louis the Fourteenth, and was probably now intrusted to arrange and settle those secret pecuniary relations between that Monarch and Charles by which the Crown of England was so deeply disgraced. At all events, he rose suddenly at this period to the highest degree in his master's favour, and, on the ninth of February, in the succeeding year, upon the removal of Sir Joseph Williamson, was recalled, and appointed a principal Secretary of State, and soon became virtually chief minister. He found the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, labouring to accomplish the ruin of Danby, and readily joined them in that endeavour, which was soon after accomplished; assisted in placing the Earl of Essex at the head of the Treasury, and Shaftesbury in the great office of President of the then newly modelled Privy Council. Thus, in the moment of his reception into the ministry, he seemed to attach himself to the popular party, which gave him credit for having forced its leaders on the King, who was himself in fact the secret mover for their admission.

He united himself for a time to the Lords Essex, Halifax, and Shaftesbury, and those four noblemen, with the occasional aid of Sir William Temple, composed the King's especial cabinet. Shaftesbury, however, whose soul abhorred tranquillity and order, soon flew off, and raised a storm in Parliament against the Duke of York, and his religion, which could only be terminated, as it was, by the dissolution of that assembly. A new Parliament met in October, 1680, in which Sunderland, who had previously prevailed on Charles to compel the Duke to retire into Scotland, voted for the famous bill of exclusion, not only, as Sir William Temple informs us in his Memoirs, "against his master's mind, but his express command;" and the King, in a sudden burst of resentment, dismissed him from the office of Secretary of State, and even ordered that his name should be erased from the list of the Council. Unemployed for two years in the direction of the State, he

applied himself with unceasing assiduity to the means of restoring himself to power; courted all parties; obtained at once the pardon of the Duke of York, who had now returned, and the confidence of the Duchess of Portsmouth; and on the thirty-first of January, 1682, was restored to the post of Secretary of State, having been some months before again admitted into the Privy Council. His apparent obsequiousness to James now excited the wonder of the Court, while in secret he thwarted that Prince's earnest desire for the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and strove to persuade the King to send him once more into banishment. It would be incredible, were it not supported by undoubted historical evidence, that at this precise period he stood pledged to the Court of France to urge, in the event of James's exclusion, the succession of the Duke of Richmond, Charles's natural son, to the Throne; flattered the Duke of Monmouth with similar hopes, and engaged in a serious negotiation with the Prince of Orange to the same effect; nor is it improbable that Charles himself was privy to these almost unparalleled intrigues.

The Duke was not ignorant of Sunderland's tergiversations, yet, when he succeeded to the throne, that nobleman, whose disgrace had been considered as inevitable, rose in favour. The extent of his talents; the peculiar ingenuity with which he applied them; and a fascinating good humour and politeness; might, it is true, have induced a master, even with a weaker judgment and a colder heart than James, to overlook many errors and offences; but the affection of that unhappy Prince was bound to him by a stronger tie: He had the reputation of a concealed attachment to the Popish persuasion. Even so early as the date of his embassy to Madrid, on his way to which city he was charged with business which delayed him sometime at Paris, Colbert thus described and recommended him in a letter to Louis the Fourteenth—"The Earl of Sunderland will without fail depart to-morrow to wait on your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family; has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning; is also extremely well intentioned, and strongly disposed to become a Roman Catholic." If

however his character has not been cruelly mis-represented, he was totally careless about all religion. James is said to have entertained some suspicion to that effect, and Sunderland took the shortest method to remove it by a formal abjuration of the Protestant faith. His regard to the temporal interests of the Romish Church seemed less doubtful, and his affected eagerness for their re-establishment in some instances outstrip the efforts even of the King himself. He assiduously sought the confidence of Father Petre, and other Catholic leaders, and deceived them into a belief that he wished to share with them the government of the State; accepted a seat in the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, and was among the forwardest of the sticklers for its jurisdiction.

James valued such compliances too highly to part with the minister who could condescend to them, yet he was fully conscious of Sunderland's true character. In that Prince's notices of his own life and affairs so important to the history of that period, which were published by Macpherson, he says, under the year 1686, "Sunderland, besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, had one also from the King of France. He was the most mercenary man in the world: veered with all winds," &c.: and in another place charges him with the most detestable and complex treachery to the Duke of Monmouth in that unhappy man's last hours. "When Monmouth was taken," says James, "he wrote, on the road, to desire admission into the King's presence, having somewhat to say that would give him a happy reign. Ralph Sheldon was sent to meet him, and, being asked who had the chief confidence with the King, he said, 'Sunderland.' Monmouth then, knocking his breast in a surprise, said, 'Why, then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet me.' He desired Sheldon to acquaint the King with it, and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, seeing some of them had the King's confidence. Sheldon, on his return, was giving the King an account, when Sunderland, pretending business, came into the closet, and Sheldon stopt, desiring to speak

with the King in private; but the King told him he might say any thing before that Lord, which put Sheldon to great perplexity, yet he told what Monmouth had said. Sunderland seemed at first struck; but after a short time, said, with a laugh, 'If that be all he can discover to save his life, it will do him little good.'" James, as is well known, did admit the captive Monmouth once more into his presence. "He was willing," to use his own words, "to hear more of the matter related by Mr. Sheldon;" and he remarked that "it was strange my Lord Sunderland did not oppose it, unless, as was said afterwards, he underhand assured the Duke of Monmouth of his pardon if he confessed nothing; and then, when he (the Duke) had destroyed his own credit by contradicting himself, he took care to have him dispatched as soon as possible afterwards." Of the truth of that report there is now no doubt, and it is also well known that Sunderland intercepted and destroyed a letter which Monmouth subsequently wrote to the King from the Tower; but enough on this odious subject.

In spite however of many detections, and more suspicions, Sunderland's power gradually increased. Protected by the influence of France; by the partiality of the Queen, who venerated his pretended zeal for her Church, and to whose opinions James paid great deference; and by the weight of his own talents, which perhaps gained more credit than they merited from a comparison with those of the ministers to whom he was joined; he exercised an unbounded sway over the measures of his unhappy master, and became graced by new distinctions. On the fourth of February, 1685, he succeeded the Marquis of Halifax in the office of President of the Council, still holding that of Secretary of State; and on the twenty-sixth of April, 1687, was elected a Knight of the Garter. At length, in the summer of the following year, the Roman Catholics at Court too late discovered the error that they had committed in accepting his patronage and agency, and beset the King with importunities to dismiss him, at the very moment when he was endeavouring to amuse them with a pretended scheme to form an administration in which they were to

have a complete ascendancy. Even at last James was awakened from his delirium rather by the Dutch invasion than by their intreaties; and Sunderland was not discharged from his great offices till the twenty-seventh of October, the Prince of Orange having sailed from his own coast the very day before, to take possession of a kingdom which he owed in a great measure to the treachery of that minister.

From the hour of James's accession to the throne Sunderland had been the constant agent for the Prince in all that related to his designs on England, and to enhance the turpitude of the intercourse, it was carried on through the medium of his uncle, Henry Sidney, James's accredited minister at the Hague. To prevent a disclosure of the conspiracy, and to furnish means for intercepting any accidental rumour of it which might arrive from other quarters, he had procured a positive order from the King to all the foreign ministers to correspond with him alone; and thus enveloped in a profound secresy, he betrayed to William the interests of his master, which he was bound by the most sacred ties to maintain, and the designs of France, which, with sufficient baseness, he had accepted enormous bribes to forward and to conceal. While the Prince gradually shaped his plans, and formed his resolutions, on the chain of intelligence thus furnished, Sunderland seconded him, step by step, in his endeavours to produce the crisis here at the due season, fomenting the worst passions, and flattering the most mischievous foibles, of the devoted James; and preparing, with the coldest indifference, the means, not only of dethroning a Sovereign who had loaded him with beneficence, but of producing a revolution which, but for the native humanity and good sense of his countrymen, might have deluged the nation in blood. And what were the motives to this frightful dereliction of all that was honest, and honourable, and just? to this utter abandonment of public duty, and of private feeling? to this sacrifice which so few have been bold and wicked enough to make even to the loftiest objects of human ambition? Alas! merely a disposi-

tion to unbounded profusion in private expenses; to the love of luxury, and the vanity of magnificence.

It is strange that a Prince of William's reputation for rigid virtue and sound prudence should have bestowed his future friendship, and even his confidence, on such a man, but the robber seemed no less welcome than the spoil. To keep up decent appearances however for a while, Sunderland crossed the sea, with the affectation of flying from justice, immediately after the Prince had landed, and William, in 1690 and 1692, specially excepted him in two several acts of indemnity and free pardon: but this grave farce was rendered somewhat ridiculous by Sunderland's preferring Holland as his safest place of refuge. There, at the commencement of the former of those years, he issued from the press a short apology for his public conduct, under the title of "A Letter, Discovering the Papists' Designs, to a Friend in the Country," which was industriously circulated in England, abounding with assertions which, though believed by none, were of a nature to defy formal disproval, and composed with an air of careless frankness, amounting to vulgarity of expression. This was meant to prepare England for his reception once more to royal favour; and in the winter of 1692, wonderful to tell, he returned the champion of the Whig interest, from which, by his advice, William now selected a new administration. "The person," says Burnet, speaking of this precise period, "that had the King's confidence in the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience, and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any Englishman ever had. He had brought the King to this change of councils by the prospect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those who in the present conjuncture were the only party that both could and would support him," &c.

Thus he became once more, without the title, chief minister:

indeed it was not thought fit in this reign to bring him forward in any specific office in the State; nor was it till the spring of 1697 that he was admitted even to the Privy Council. On the nineteenth of April in that year he was appointed Lord Chamberlain. The nation, however, with a generous resentment, spurned at the approach of such a man to the royal ear. "The Tories," says Burnet "pressed hard on him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he apprehended that while the former would attack him the others would defend him faintly." William, with a warmth of regard which he seldom manifested to any, clung to him to the last, and so increased the general dissatisfaction. At length he prudently resolved to retire, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, in the same year, the King most reluctantly accepted his resignation, and he retreated to utter privacy at his seat at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, where he died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1702, and was buried with his ancestors at Brington, in that County.

As Bishop Burnet is the only writer who has endeavoured to find excuses for the frightful faults of this nobleman's conduct, it is due to Sunderland's memory, as well as prudent in one who now publishes, for the first time, the collected circumstances of his life, to insert here the character given of him by his sole apologist. "Lord Sunderland," says Burnet, "was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat, both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good, but he was a man of great expense, and, in order to the supporting himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court, and he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or to the interests of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had indeed the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known; and he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up

on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much that even those who esteemed his parts depended little on his firmness."

The Earl of Sunderland married Anne, second and youngest daughter, and at length heir, to George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, and had by her three sons and four daughters. Robert, the eldest, died unmarried; the second, Charles, succeeded to his father, and from him have been descended the several noble persons of his name who have borne the titles of Duke of Marlborough, and Earl Spencer: Henry, the third son, died soon after his birth. The daughters were Anne, wife of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, afterwards duke of Hamilton; Elizabeth, married to Donald Macarty, Earl of Clancarty; Isabella, who died unmarried; and Mary, who died an infant.

FRANCES THERESA STEWART,

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

It is not merely to commemorate the most surpassing loveliness, nor to record its dominion over those who gloried in submitting to its sway, that this fair subject is admitted into a work which professes and designs to celebrate the most illustrious persons of our country. The triumphs of personal charms, and the extravagances and stratagems of love, have perhaps no distinct claim on the pen of the biographer; but when we can add to them an unerring constancy in the path of honour, an heroic resistance to the temptations of ambition and flattery, and to all the boldness and all the arts of the most licentious court in Europe, the theme becomes perfect, since, in the weakness of human estimation, virtue itself seems to derive an increased lustre from a combination with beauty.

Frances Theresa was the eldest of the two daughters of Walter Stewart, third son of Walter first Lord Blantyre, a Peer of Scotland, whom Granger, following an error in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, calls "Captain Stewart:" he was in fact a physician, and probably exercised his profession in London. Of the mode of her introduction at court we have no account; but she became there at once a maid of honour to Catherine of Braganza, and the darling intimate of the favourite mistress, the Countess of Castlemain, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, stations which the liberality of that time rendered very compatible with each other. Grammont, the tolerably faithful historian of the

royal and noble depravities of that day, informs us that the Countess, either to try the King's constancy to herself, or to gain leisure for her own amours by diverting his affections to another object, or, which is scarcely credible, from both motives, not only introduced her to him, but endeavoured, even by strange artifices, to inspire him with a passion for her. Grammont says—"La beauté de Mademoiselle Stewart commençoit alors à faire du bruit. La Comtesse de Castelmain s'apperçut que le Roi la regardoit; mais, au lieu de s'en alarmer, elle favorisa tant qu'elle put ce nouveau goût, soit par une imprudence ordinaire à celles qui se croient au-dessus des autres, soit qu'elle voulût par cet amusement detourner l'attention du Roi du commerce qu'elle (Castelmain) avoit avec Jermyn. Elle ne se contentoit pas de paroître sans inquiétude sur une distinction dont toute la cour commençoit à s'appercevoir; elle affecta d'en faire sa favorite, la mit dans tous les soupers qu'elle donnoit au Roy; et dans la confiance de ses propres charmes, poussant la témérité jusqu'au bout, elle la retenoit souvent à coucher. Le Roi, qui ne manquoit guère à venir chez la Castelmain avant qu'elle se levât, ne manquoit guère aussi d'y trouver Mademoiselle Stewart au lit avec elle. Les objets les plus indifférents ont des attraits dans un nouvel entêtement; cependant, l'imprudente Castelmain ne fut point jalouse que cette rivale parût auprès d'elle en cet état, sûre, quand bon lui sembleroit, de triompher de tout ce que ces occasions auroient eu de plus avantageux pour la Stewart; mais il en alla tout autrement."

The Countess's project, such as Grammont has represented it, for a time succeeded to the utmost. The King became violently enamoured of this new beauty, while Lady Castlemain's influence over his mind remained unimpaired; but she had flattered herself that Stewart like the rest, would have fallen an easy conquest, and that Charles, in the hour of satiety, would have returned to seek a shadow of novelty in her embraces. She had probably anticipated his penitence and submission, and prepared to receive him with a suitable show of anger and coyness. She

waited long for the event; became alarmed; and was at length wholly disappointed. The young lady repelled with firmness his attacks on her honour, and Charles's heart, refined for a transient interval by this generous resistance, now felt, perhaps for the first time, the raptures and the pangs of genuine love.

The Countess had presently the mortification to see the busiest courtiers striving for the King's favour through this new medium. The profligate and artful Buckingham, "a man so various," as Dryden has it, "that he seemed to be, not one, but all mankind's epitome," counterfeited, to flatter and please her, the careless and joyous innocence of youth which she really possessed; and amused her alternately by the buffoonery and mimicry in which he was so eminently skilled, and by joining her in the childish romps in which she delighted. Caught however by her irresistible charms, he forgot his schemes, talked of love, and was chased from her presence with disdain. The grave Lord Arlington made her a formal visit to intreat her interest for him with the King, but he had some singularities of personal appearance and manners which she recollected to have seen Buckingham imitate so ludicrously that she could not answer him for laughter, and the statesman retired in anger. The Count de Grammont owns candidly that he endeavoured to recommend himself to Charles by extravagant praises of her. He too had been probably on some occasion repulsed by her, for we find in the short picture which he has given of her some ill-natured touches, which there is every reason to believe were unjust—"C'étoit une figure," says he, "de plus éclat qu'elle n'étoit touchante. On ne pouvoit avoir guère moins d'esprit, ni plus de beauté. Tous ses traits étoient beaux et réguliers, mais sa taille ne l'étoit pas: cependant elle étoit menue, assez droite, et plus grande que le commun des femmes. Elle avoit de la grace; dansoit bien; parloit François mieux que sa langue naturelle. Elle étoit polie; possédoit cet air de parure après lequel on court, et qu'on n'attrape guère à moins que de l'avoir pris en France dès sa jeunesse."

Grammont was a wit by trade, a cold-hearted debauchee, and

a Frenchman. In his estimation want of artifice was want of understanding, and that simplicity of heart which to unsophisticated feelings renders beauty even angelic seemed to him positive idiotism. Had any thing been wanting to confirm him in these false conclusions he would have found it in the absurdity of rejecting the addresses of an amorous monarch, the very fact which proves that she possessed a vigorous mind as well as a fine moral feeling.

Charles's passion for her increased daily, and betrayed him into several singular but inoffensive extravagancies. Among these, a gold medal appeared, doubtless by his order, representing on the front his own bust, and on the reverse a portrait of the idolized fair one in the character of Minerva; said to have been so exquisite a likeness that it was instantly known, as Evelyn, who lived in her time, informs us in his Numismata, by all who had ever seen her. We are told that Philip Rotier, who, with his father and brothers, was joint engraver to the royal mint, and who executed the dye, fell distractedly in love with her in the interviews to which he was necessarily admitted to study her features, and soothed his hopeless passion by copying again and again, in various sizes and metals, this happy effort of his art. The King was not less desirous than the engraver to disseminate to the utmost the beloved portrait, and it was presently transferred to the copper coin of the realm, on which it appears to this day, unaltered in its general appearance, as the emblematic figure, and bearing the inscription, of Britannia. These circumstances drew from Waller the following miserable and obscure lines, which by a strange perversion of terms appear in the various publications of his works with the title of "an epigram." It is somewhat remarkable that its point, if it may be said to have one, should consist in the celebration of that chastity which his royal patron was striving to undermine.

"Our guard upon the royal side,
On the reverse our beauty's pride,
Here we discern the frown and smile
The force, the glory, of our isle;

In the rich medal both so like
Immortals stand it seems antique,
Carved by some master when the bold
Greeks made their Jove descend in gold,
And Danae, wondering at that shower,
Which falling stormed her brazen tower.
Britannia there, the fort in vain
Had batter'd been with golden rain:
Thunder itself had fail'd to pass—
Virtue's a stronger guard than brass."

It may not be extravagant to conjecture that the exquisite original which furnished the engraving annexed to this memoir gave the hint for the figure which appears on the reverses of the medal, &c. It may be fairly enough supposed that the whim having occurred of representing her in this Amazonian costume, and the painter having accomplished his task with such uncommon felicity, the King resolved to perpetuate the portrait by transmitting it unaltered to a metallic durability.

At length a rumour arose, and presently gained universal credit, that Charles had determined to divorce his childless Queen, and to marry this Lady, who, fatigued by his incessant importunities, and anxious to preserve her reputation unsullied, had in the mean time encouraged the honourable addresses of Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, a nobleman of middle age, who had been already twice married. The King, who had been unwilling to believe that such a connexion subsisted, was conducted by Lady Castlemain, to whom she had now become an object of jealousy, and even hatred, to the fair Stewart's chamber, where he found the Duke, sitting by her bedside after she had retired to rest, a liberty which a lady might then grant without scandal to a professed suitor. Charles loaded the Duke with the most furious reproaches, from which he retired in silence, and then, after a long altercation, in which she justified her conduct, and insisted with the utmost firmness on her independence, left her, vowing that he would never see her again. Richmond was the next morning ordered to leave the Court, and

the lady waited on the Queen to solicit her dismissal, and permission to embrace a monastic life on the Continent. Grammont asserts that Catherine, unwilling that the King should be detached from a platonic amour, persuaded her not only to relinquish her design of becoming a nun, but also to promise that she would break her engagements to the Duke of Richmond, and even effected that reconciliation with the King which of all things he most anxiously desired.

From that hour Charles became more than ever enamoured of her. There had been no stipulation in the treaty for forbearance on his part, and if there had he would have broken it. He renewed his offensive suit with increased ardour, and she, as her only protection, listened again with a more serious attention to the proposals of Richmond, who loved her to distraction. The King, finding that he could not break their connection by violence, had now recourse to craft. He affected to consent to their marriage, and, knowing that the Duke's estates were enthralled by heavy obligations, took on himself the office of her guardian, and insisted that she should have a splendid settlement, and that it should be secured with the utmost strictness. To evince his firm determination on this head, as well as to render more certain the success of his plan, he committed the matter to the management and direction of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom he ordered to make the most exact scrutiny into the state of Richmond's affairs: in the mean time he offered to create the lady a Duchess, and to settle on her in fee an ample estate for the support of that dignity, but she refused both. Resolving at length to hazard the worst effects of Charles's anger rather than submit longer to the unceasing vexation of his wayward love, she left Whitehall privately, and, without the usual ceremony of asking permission either of the King or Queen, was married to the Duke, and made it publicly known in April, 1667, not long after the solemnization.

Charles's wrath on this disclosure approached to madness, and the weight of it fell on the Chancellor, whose influence had

been already for some time declining. His enemies, particularly Lord Berkeley, had persuaded the King that he had determined to prevent his Majesty from marrying Stewart, in the hope of securing the inheritance of the crown to his own grandchildren, the issue of his daughter by the Duke of York, and had therefore exerted himself to the utmost to compass the obnoxious match with the duke of Richmond. Burnet tells us that "the Earl of Clarendon's son, the Lord Cornbury, was going to Mrs. Stewart's lodgings, upon some assignation she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door, coming out full of fury; and he, suspecting that Lord Cornbury was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for some time would not hear Lord Cornbury speak in his own defence. In the afternoon," continues Burnet, "he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me; yet this made so deep an impression that he resolved to take the Seals from his father."

Clarendon himself, speaking of his downfall, which presently followed, and of his uncertainty of the causes of it, says, using always, according to his custom in mentioning himself, the third person—"He had, before the storm fell on him, been informed by a person of honour, who knew the truth of it, that some persons had persuaded the King that the Chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the Duke of Richmond, with which his Majesty was offended in the highest degree, and the Lord Berkeley had reported it with all confidence." And in a letter of apology and expostulation, the last he ever wrote to Charles, alluding further to this report he says—"If the ground for your displeasure be for any thing my Lord Berkeley hath reported (which I know he hath said to many, though, being charged with it by me, he did positively disclaim it,) I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice, or counsel, or countenance in it than the child that is not born, which your Majesty seemed once to believe when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons

mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word, or received message from either in my life, and this I protest to your Majesty is true, as I have hope in heaven."

In the dearth of intelligence as to the character of the Duchess of Richmond's mind, and of her natural and acquired talents, it may be excusable to cite here an extravagant passage from the pen of an extravagant dramatist Lee, in his dedication to her of the tragedy of Theodosius. The bard gives her ample credit as well for wit, and taste, and literary patronage, as for kindness of heart, and the most exquisite beauty. "Ah Madam," says he, "if all the short-lived happiness that miserable poets can enjoy consist in commendation only; nay, if the most part are content with popular breath, and even for that are thankful; how shall I express myself to your Grace, who, by a particular goodness and innate sweetness, merely for the sake of doing well, have thus raised me above myself? To have your Grace's favour is, in a word, to have the applause of the whole Court, who are its noblest ornament—magnificent and immortal praise! Something there is in your mien so much above what we vulgarly call charming that to me it seems adorable, and your presence almost divine, whose dazzling and majestic form is a proper mansion for the most elevated soul; and let me tell the world, nay, sighing, speak it to a barbarous age, your extraordinary love for heroic poetry is not the least argument to shew the greatness of your mind, and fullness of perfection. To hear you speak, with that infinite sweetness and cheerfulness of spirit that is natural to your Grace, is methinks to hear our tutelar angels: 'tis to bemoan the present malicious times, and remember the golden age: but to behold you too, is to make prophets quite forget their heaven, and bind the poets with eternal rapture," &c. We find, too, towards the conclusion, this strongly implied testimony to the purity of her morals, which however the preceding account here given of her conduct may render it scarcely necessary to insert—"All I can promise, Madam, and be able to perform, is that your Grace shall never see a play of mine that shall give offence to modesty and virtue."

The Duchess of Richmond survived her husband, who left her childless, and, having remained a widow for thirty years, died on the fifteenth of October, 1702, possessed of considerable wealth, which she bequeathed to her great-nephew, Alexander, fifth Lord Blantyre.

Engraved by T.A.Dean.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, FIRST DUKE OF ARGYLL.

OB. 1703.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

London, Published Feb.ʸ 1, 1808, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL,

FIRST DUKE OF ARGYLL,

Was the eldest of the four sons of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, by Mary, eldest daughter of James Stewart, fifth Earl of Moray. His ancestors had been among the most staunch supporters of the reformation in Scotland, and had been distinguished by an excess of the gloomy fury of puritanism, and of the republican taint which is unhappily inseparable from it. He had been carefully bred in the same school, but the rectitude of his heart, and the clearness of his understanding, not to mention the caution probably inspired by the sanguinary visitations of vengeance which had of late fallen on his family, had rendered him more moderate in the practice of its doctrines. He had too the good fortune to arrive at manhood on the eve of that revolution which, though far short of realizing the political views of his sect, flattered them enough to soothe him to patience. His father, who had been attainted of high treason in 1682, and had fled, returned to Scotland three years after, and raised a little army to favour Monmouth's rebellion, on which occasion the son came to London, offered to serve against him, and put himself wholly into the King's power. The Earl's enterprise however was presently subdued; he was made prisoner; and was beheaded at Edinburgh, under his former sentence, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1685; and his forlorn successor went soon after to Holland, and put himself under the protection of the Prince of Orange, who was already forming his design on the English Crown, and to whom therefore a visitor of such a character, and under such circumstances, could not but be highly acceptable.

He was cherished accordingly by William, to whom he presently rendered himself very serviceable through his intimate knowledge of the state of parties in Scotland; became the chief adviser of the Prince's measures as to that country; and having accompanied him on his invasion of England in 1688, went soon after to Edinburgh, and was not only admitted, though not yet restored in blood, to sit in the Convention of Estates which assembled itself there on the revolution, but was deputed by the Peers to tender, on the part of their branch of the Legislature, to the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Crown of Scotland, and to offer those concessions and demands which were ordained by the ancient laws of that country to be made on the accession of a Prince to its Throne. His titles and estates were soon after restored to him; he was sworn of the Privy Council; and seemed to enjoy ample confidence and favour; when, about the end of the year 1689, he is said to have been engaged, together with the Earls of Annandale and Breadalbin and others, in a treaty with King James for his restoration, which was soon broken up by the obstinacy with which that Prince rejected certain proposals tending to a diminution of his prerogative.

The obscurity of the reports, or rather hints, which we have of his concern in this matter, is impenetrable. Burnet, without having given the smallest intimation of his previous conduct in it, merely tells us that "the Earl of Argyll withdrew himself from them," and James, in his historical notes of his own Life, according to one of Macpherson's extracts, has this solitary and doubtful passage—"The Earl of Annandale, Lord Ross, and Sir James Montgomery, correspond with the King—As interest was the prime motive to their return to their duty, they first made terms for themselves—The King knew it, but he resolved to encourage repentance—He appointed Annandale Commissioner, Montgomery Secretary of State—When the Parliament met they pursued their point with earnestness—The Duke of Queensbury, Marquis of Athol, and Earl of Argyll, concurred with them, but the presbyterians, whom they formerly governed, began to abandon these undertakers."

Argyll's name does not occur again in a single instance in those curious memorials, nor do I find any other mention of this plot, as Burnet calls it, elsewhere than in the two instances just now quoted, and a mere allusion to it in Douglas's article of the Earls of Argyll, in his peerage of Scotland. To complete the confusion which involves this affair, we find him even in the succeeding year a Commissioner of the Scottish Treasury, and perhaps the most confidential minister in that country. It was then that William declared, on a particular occasion, that he "got more truth from Argyll than from all the rest of his countrymen, for that he had the courage to speak out what others durst not even hint at." These difficulties and contradictions can perhaps be no otherwise reasonably reconciled than by supposing that he had secretly betrayed the design to the King, and was rewarded accordingly.

About this time he raised and commanded a regiment, whose first service appears to have been in the perpetration of that dreadful outrage known by the name of the massacre of Glenco, which, though he was not personally a party in it, he seems not to have disapproved. It was so highly, as well as justly, resented in the Highlands, that William found it necessary to direct a commission of inquiry into it to several persons of the first rank among the nobility and officers of state. One of them, Cockburn of Ormistoun, Lord Justice Clerk, in a letter to Carstares, of the twenty-third of July, 1695, says, "Argyll, publicly in Parliament, challenged me to ask satisfaction, which way I pleased, when he reflected on the whole commission of Glenco; for the rest, he said, he would not reflect on them; but for that gentleman (meaning me) who thought himself reflected on, he should have satisfaction which way he pleased." It is to be feared that he had suffered the bitterness of his presbyterian zeal to plunge him deeply into the guilt of a transaction the baseness and cruelty of which would have disgraced even the most uncivilized days of his country.

In 1694 he commanded the same regiment in the campaign of

that year in Flanders, without any remarkable distinction, and in 1696 was made Colonel of the Horse Guards of Scotland, a royal military establishment which was for some years after, probably till the Union, allowed to exist in that country. He held at no time any public appointments but those which have been here mentioned, nor does it appear that he received any emoluments beyond those which he derived from them, though the burthen of Scottish affairs, particularly in Parliament, and of reponsibility for the counsels by which they were directed, had for some years rested chiefly on himself. He seems to have sought no reward but in an increase of dignity, for which he solicited William, who long hesitated to grant the request. Writing, on the fourteenth of September, 1698, to Carstares, who was entirely in his confidence, and transacted his affairs at the English Court, he says, "I must think it strange if the King scruple me my title, after all that is past; and, as you value my family, I must earnestly request it to you to lay it home. If it be refused, I wish I had never asked it; but I confess I thought the purchase would have been easy, since there can be no objection to it." It was yet delayed however for nearly three years; at length on the twenty-third of June, 1701, he was created Duke of Argyll, with the addition of the numerous titles of Marquis of Lorn and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Lockow and Glenila, Baron Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiry.

Argyll seems to have possessed all the best qualifications of an ancient chieftain of the country which gave him birth. Nature had given him, with a powerful and lively understanding, a princely generosity, an undaunted courage, a quickness, and, generally, justness of decision, an inflexibility of determination, and a candour often inconveniently pure for the station in which he was placed. To these were added the neutral, and partly acquired qualities of haughtiness, irritability, resentment, and excessive pride of blood. These particulars of his character may I think be safely inferred from his numerous letters, and other documents relating to him, which have been preserved in the

publication of the state papers of his friend Carstares, from which the most part of this superficial memoir has been drawn. To enable the reader to form some opinion of the justice of that inference, I will subjoin two of those letters, both addressed to Carstares, the one on public, the other on domestic, subjects, in order to afford some view of him in each character.

"Sir, London, Feb. 26, 1698.

"I am heartily sorry I was not at home when you called, two several times, before you went to Scotland. I received the letter you sent me. I do assure you I took your advice very kindly, for none alive can easier convince me, especially in matters of that kind. I am heartily sorry to hear that any of the presbyterians of the Church of Scotland can be prevailed upon by a runegado Church of England-man, and a presbyterian but of two years' standing, to follow any measure so contrary to their true interest as I am told Mr. Hamilton of Wylie moved them to. I do not pretend to be perfect. I have my faults, and everybody sees the worst of me; and though I won't be whipt into obedience, as if Mr. William Cumming's government were yet remaining over me, yet I am sensible your advice is so good (coming from a sincere heart, void of interest, modestly told me, answerable to your function) I do assure you it shall be my study to avoid all scandal, and in my profession I shall never act the hypocrite.

"What family in Scotland can claim so much of the Church of Scotland, as now established, then I? I lost a grandfather, and a father, and my estate, in the quarrel; and was any man more forward then I upon the revolution, to establish it as it now is? I never acted another part, nor never will: but I must own that I am concerned when I see your brethren act contraire to their interest in relation to civil government. I desire not to be misunderstood; for I think it may be very consonant with all the rules of our religion, and the government of Church as now established, to act politickly; to take those to assist them who has it in their blood, as well as inclination, to serve and support them;

and I think it a very bad measure to set up a pretended presbyterian, who waits but an opportunity to return to the myre when once he has establisht himself. And lest, by my friendship with some, I mean the Duke of Queensbury in particular, it may be thought I must go another way, his family having been reputed episcopal, I dare answer for him that he will be ready to embark heartily with the presbyterians, if they will cordially accept him; and, where I am guarantee, I think you have better security for his Grace then any is yet got of our two year old presbyterian, the Marquis of Athol's son, the Earl of Tullibardine. I wish you may prevail with your brethren in everything that will establish them.

"I am your affectionate friend, to serve you,

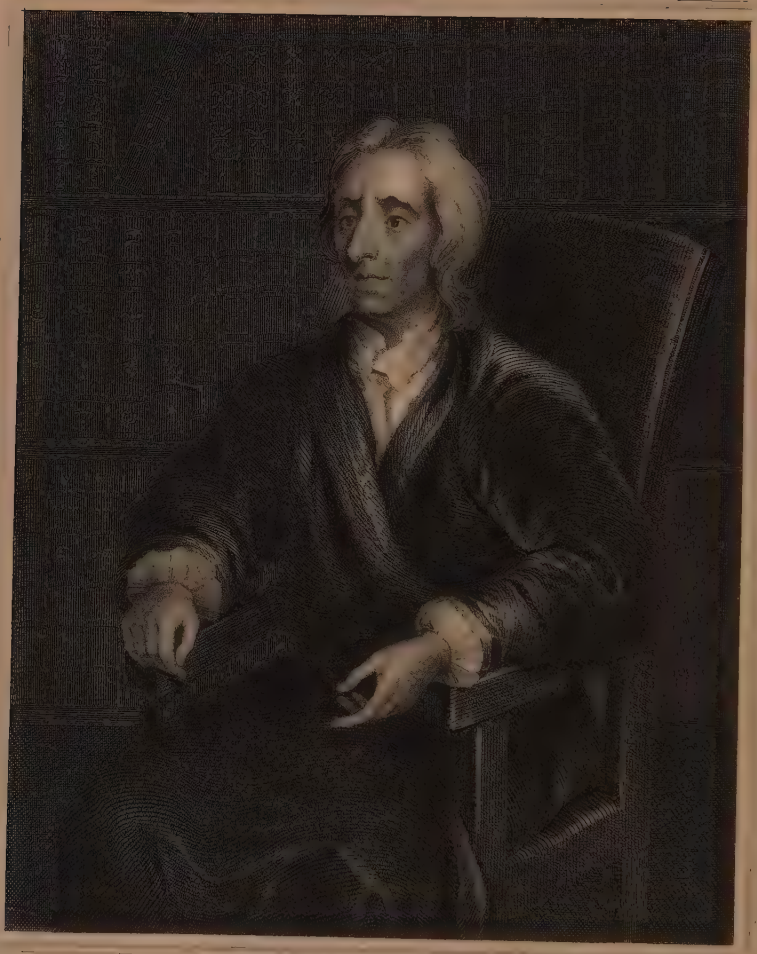
"ARGYLL."

It may be necessary to observe, in reference to the following extract, that Argyll was separated from his lady for many of the concluding years of his life.

——"As to what you say in relation to myself, and my own particular behaviour, I take it very kindly of you. I know it is the effect of your friendship and concern in my person, besides my family. I do assure you my carriage shall be such as I shall give no just cause of scandal or offence, though I know some makes it their business so much to render me criminal, and at least censurable, even where is the least ground, that, whilst I am burdened with the error of the first concoction, I need scarce hope to be free of censure. Should I lock myself up in a cage, daily they will be hatching something. There is one thing that I know will be clamoured against—that I have sent my two daughters home to Rosneath, designing to take the charge of them myself. My reasons for so doing are, since they are mine, and that I am bound to provide for them, none can blame. I wish and endeavour that they be bred up with all duty and love to me, as their father, which I cannot expect in the circumstances they have been in hitherto, living with a mother in those terms with me,

and who never in her life shewed them the example of good nature, or duty to their parent; and who always carries herself to her children to an extream, on side or t'other, by too much fondness, or too much severity. They are coming up to an age in which it's presumable they will receive impressions, and I have not forgot the Latin—'Quo semel est imbuta,' &c.: but, above all, my chief reason is, she having had lately the charge of her sister Doun's daughter, some years older than any of mine, she did encourage her in things that I would not for all the world be guilty of, where a parent especially, which was to encourage her to wriet little billett-dues and letters to Carnwath, Sir George Lockhart's son and heir; and by the company she kept, by her example, as the Countess of Forfar, Nanny Murray, &c. she had like to have been quite ruined; and came to that length of impudence that, dancing with Carnwath in the dancing school, she squeezed his hand; all which the youth told, and she was sent for home. As you are my undoubted friend, I give you the trouble of all this, though I hope the envious world themselves must acknowledge a father can dispose of his children. Adieu."

This nobleman died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1703, having been married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of that remarkable woman Elizabeth Murray (in her own right Countess of Dysart, and by marriage Duchess of Lauderdale) by her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache, or Talmash. He had by her John and Archibald, successively Dukes of Argyll; a daughter, Anne, wife, first, to John Stewart, second Earl of Bute, and, secondly, to Alexander Fraser, of Strichen in the County of Aberdeen, a Lord of Session; and another daughter of whom I find no mention anywhere but in the letter last cited.



Engraved by H. Robinson.

JOHN LOCKE.

OB. 1704.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE HALL OF

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

London Printed for Vernor & Hood, Poultry, J. Cuthell, Middle Row, Holborn, & J. Walker, Paternoster Row, March 1st 1800.

JOHN LOCKE.

A MORE happy combination of the characters of the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, has perhaps never been exhibited, than in the person of this distinguished philosopher. Disdaining the futile speculations by which preceding writers on metaphysics had sought to veil the mysteries they were unable to comprehend, and relying solely on the original powers of his own deep and reflecting mind, it is scarcely presumptuous to say, that he brought to light perhaps all that is discoverable respecting the operations of the human understanding; and, while his talents were devoted to a work which became one of the highest ornaments of the literature of his country, his pure and virtuous life displayed the most satisfactory proof of the practical efficacy of a piety the sincerity of which was clearly proved by his efforts, not less humble than vigorous, to show that all the parts of the Christian System were reconcilable to human reason.

He was the son of John Locke, of Pensford, in Somersetshire, near Bristol, by Anne, daughter of Edmund Keene, a tanner, of Wrington, in the same county, where he was born on the 29th of August, 1632. His father, who exercised the humble office of clerk to a magistrate in the neighbourhood, was known to Alexander Popham, a man of good estate there, and a colonel in the rebel service, to which cause the whole of his ancient family was attached, and received from that gentleman the command of a company, in which he is said to have been killed at Bristol in 1645. Through Popham's interest, the young Locke was admitted

on the foundation at Westminster School, from whence, in 1652, he was elected to Christ-church, Oxford, where he took his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts in 1655, and 1658. The study of the New Philosophy, as it was then called, first fascinated him, and though his accurate judgment rejected many of the romantic notions of Des Cartes, he was delighted with the bold and original tone of his opinions, and the perspicuity of his style; and hence he is believed to have formed that design, which he afterwards so successfully executed, of withdrawing philosophy from the mystic jargon and obscurity in which the dialectics of the schools had involved it.

He made choice of the profession of medicine, and studied it profoundly and earnestly, with the intention of making it a permanent occupation, but is said to have relinquished the idea from the apprehension that the feebleness of his constitution would preclude him from the labour and exertion which were indispensable to ensure success: yet his skill was well known, and even publicly celebrated; for the eminent Sydenham, in his book on acute diseases, speaking of him with the highest general praise, says, "You know how much my method has been approved of by our common friend Mr. John Locke, who has examined it to the bottom." Whatever might have been his motive, he quitted the practice, and went abroad in 1664, in the character of secretary to Sir William Swan, who was then appointed envoy to some of the independent German potentates. He returned however, within the year, to Oxford, where he accidentally became acquainted with the Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. That nobleman, who had a profound knowledge of the characters and talents of men, discovered at once the superior powers of Locke, and determined to use them in the prosecution of those purposes to which his turbulent spirit prompted him. He contracted the closest intimacy with him; established him in his house; intrusted to him implicitly the care of a lingering disease, under which he had long laboured; and, introducing this new friend to all his acquaintance, engaged him to confine his practice to that limited

circle, and to devote the ample leisure that he might enjoy to those studies in which he delighted and excelled. Thus, by an unaccountable perverseness of fate, the closest connection was formed between one of the best and the very worst of mankind.

In 1668 Mr. Locke accompanied the Earl and Countess of Northumberland to Paris, apparently in his medical capacity, since we are told that the Lady was cured by him, during their stay in that city, of a painful and obstinate malady. He was absent but for a few months, and on his return, Ashley gave him the last proof of his confidence, by committing to his superintendence the education of his only son, afterwards that Earl of Shaftesbury, who for a time gained an unenviable celebrity as the author of the "Characteristics," in which fantastic book he presumed to controvert the system of his master. He had not been long in England when he was employed by his patron to form a plan for the constitution of Carolina, of which colony Ashley, joined to some other men of rank, had obtained a grant. In this scheme was proposed the utmost latitude of religious profession, and hence has been unjustly imputed to him an utter indifference to the subject, a charge against which the whole course of his life protects him. Is it reasonable to suppose that it was settled that Locke's judgment on these regulations should be final, and that the pattern of iniquity whom he served was to be prohibited from adding any poisonous seasoning?

Shaftesbury, for he had just before obtained that Earldom, on being raised to the post of Lord Chancellor in November, 1672, appointed Locke his secretary of the presentations to benefices, which place he lost twelve months after, when the seals were placed in other hands. He was then appointed secretary to a commission of trade, which was dissolved in the following year. He had during this period maintained his connection with his college by occasional residences there, and in February, 1674, took his degree of Bachelor of Physic. It was about this time that gratitude to his patron prompted him to waste his fine talents on politics. Shaftesbury, on being dismissed from his high office,

had passed suddenly from the practice of the basest servility to the character of a furious demagogue, and Locke, at his instigation, condescended to employ himself in writing pamphlets to excite the people against a government whose conduct, it must be confessed, would have furnished an ample excuse for the censures of a writer of meaner capacity. To avoid this unworthy occupation, or, as has been said, to amend impaired health, he went in 1675 to Montpelier, where he long resided, and removing afterwards to Paris, formed intimacies with the most eminent literary men in that capital. He remained there till 1679, when Shaftesbury having regained a degree of favour, and acquired the office of President of the Council, recalled him, and he was now once more flattered with a view of honourable and permanent provision. This however was soon dispelled. Shaftesbury was discovered to have accepted a place among Charles's ministers but with the intention of betraying them, and of covertly favouring seditious excitement; and Locke, who was known to possess his utmost confidence, became more than suspected of exercising an active agency in the prosecution of his measures. The Earl was displaced, and being soon after indicted of high treason, was liberated, not acquitted, by a verdict of rare occurrence, and immediately retired for the remainder of his life to Holland.

Locke remained not long after him. He presently found himself the object of unceasing suspicion; that his motions were carefully watched, and that attempts were made to betray him into some open vindication of his patron; but the caution of his demeanour so effectually baffled this observation, that nothing was discovered which could implicate him. He succeeded in removing his papers from Oxford before the arrival of persons who were directed to search them, and joined the Earl in security. In Holland circumstances daily occurred to sharpen his appetite for those studies in which his heart delighted. He became intimately acquainted with Limborch, Le Clerc, and a small circle of learned and philosophic men at whose head they stood, and who had formed themselves into a regular society, of which he

became an esteemed member. His mind might have been now purified of the dross of faction which he had been drawn in to suffer to collect on it, but he was again with Shaftesbury, whose touch was contamination, and under whose wing were domesticated those English whom a bitter hatred to the throne itself, as well as to the family which possessed it, had rendered voluntary exiles at the Hague. These too he permitted to share constantly in his society, and, in the midst of the suspicions thus aggravated on him at home, a direct accusation was lodged against him of having written some seditious papers, which afterwards appeared to have been the production of another pen.

Charles, whose anger was not easily excited, became now personally irritated against him. After some correspondence respecting him between the Secretary of State, Sunderland, and Dr., afterwards Bishop, Fell, who was then Dean of Christ-church, the King, as visitor of that college, signed a special warrant for his removal from his studentship, and he was removed, accordingly, on the sixteenth of November, 1684. On the accession of James the second, William Penn, the Quaker, who had some interest with that Prince, and had been intimate with Locke at college, offered to exert it in endeavouring to procure a pardon for him, and would, as it is said, have obtained it, had not Locke in a manner rejected it by saying that since he had been guilty of no crime he had no occasion for a pardon. In the following year however he fell under a yet more serious suspicion. The Duke of Monmouth was making some crude arrangements in Holland for his frantic enterprise; a list of certain Englishmen resident at the Hague was despatched to James's envoy there, with directions to demand their persons of the States General; and Locke's name was included. He had timely notice from some friends of his danger, and was by their assistance provided with a place of refuge at Amsterdam, where he remained nearly for a year, which he employed chiefly in methodising and completing his admirable "Essay on the Human Understanding," the study, at large intervals, of more than sixteen years. During his seclusion, he wrote

also his "Letter on Toleration," and, in order to ascertain the general opinion and feeling on the system laid down in his Essay, composed an analysis of it, which his friend Le Clerc translated into French, and afterwards published in his "Bibliothèque Universelle," a work to which Locke, in the course of that year, was a frequent contributor. The storm which had lowered over him gradually dispersed, and he now returned, openly and unmolested, to the society of his friends.

The revolution of 1688 at length redeemed him from his exile, and he returned to England in one of the vessels which formed the escort of the Princess of Orange. The first object that he sought on his arrival, such was his affection to the University, was his restoration to his studentship of Christ-church; but, on the refusal of the college to re-admit him, or rather to deprive the person who had been elected in his stead, he patiently waived his claim, declining at the same time to accept an offer which was made to admit him as a supernumerary student. His great abilities, not less than the habitual cast of his political notions and conduct, powerfully recommended him to the notice of the new government. It is said that he might have obtained a post of equal honour and profit, but he preferred the insignificant office of a commissioner of appeals, which was procured for him by his gallant and accomplished friend the Earl of Peterborough, and he declined, on the score of ill health, an honourable diplomatic appointment which was offered to him about the same time. His earnest disposition to study and reflection had also doubtless great influence in producing these denials. In 1689, he at length published his "Essay on Human Understanding," and also "a Treatise on Education;" and, soon after, his Treatises on Government, in which his notions of the civil and religious rights of a people are temperately and powerfully stated, and the principles of the revolution defended, without that heat of party feeling which disfigures so many of the best writings of that period. A publication on the state of the currency, a topic which at that time excited universal attention, followed; attracted

the notice of the ministry; and he was soon after prevailed on to accept the office of a commissioner of trade and plantations, with an annual salary of a thousand pounds.

In 1695 appeared his "Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures." This, which, with the exception of some pieces which he afterwards published in defence of it, was the last of his works, involved him in some controversy, which he left with the credit which his piety and sincerity, as well as his acuteness, merited. From this period his constitution gradually declined. The misery of an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted, was daily increasing, and he determined to retire as much as possible from public life. "My age and health," he says, in a letter written in 1696, "demand a retreat from bustle and business; and the pursuit of some enquiries I have in my thoughts makes it more desirable than any of those rewards which public employments tempt people with. I think the little I have enough, and don't desire to live higher, or die richer than I am." He resigned his appointment in the year 1700, and the retreat he so much desired he found at Oates in Essex, in the house of Sir Francis Masham, who had invited him thither to take up his abode. Here, in the society of friends who appreciated his worth, he passed the remainder of his life, devoting himself to the study of the Scriptures, and to such devout contemplations as he thought were best suited to prepare him for that change the approach of which he saw and spoke of with the utmost composure.

The manner of his death was suitable to the blameless and tranquil course of his life. On the day preceding it, in a conversation with Lady Masham, he told her that he was satisfied with the duration of his life, and thanked God that he had passed it so happily; but added, that it appeared to him a mere vanity. He was unable to sleep during the following night, and early on the ensuing morning desired to be taken into his study, where he dozed, at intervals, for a considerable time, in his chair, and on waking expressed a wish to be dressed. Lady Masham, whose

tender care soothed his last moments, was reading the Psalms to him; he requested her to read louder, which she did, he appearing the while very attentive. On a sudden he bade her cease; he felt the time was come in which the world was to close upon him for ever; and in a few moments afterwards ceased to breathe. He died, a bachelor, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1704, and was buried in the church at Oates, where his monument remains, inscribed with an epitaph of his own composition, in which he describes himself "mediocritate suâ contentum vixisse."

Engraved by S. Freeman.

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA.

QUEEN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

OB. 1705.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GORDON.

London Published by ... Bentley's Quadrant, Pall Mall East

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA,

WIFE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

THE circumstances of this Lady's life during her long residence in England, and of the rest of it we know almost nothing, will compose merely a dull tale of unvaried domestic wretchedness; yet she was the consort of a great Prince, whose chief characteristics were wit, politeness, gaiety, and good humour; who entertained towards her no sentiment of aversion; who was beloved by her; and to whom she never gave any reasonable cause of offence. All this is far from mysterious. Thousands of the tender and amiable sex pine unremittingly under the weight of griefs similar to hers, but the eyes of a nation are not upon them, and they pine under their sufferings, nearly unpitied and unobserved.

Catherine was the second daughter of John, Duke of Braganza, who in 1640 recovered to his family the Crown of Portugal from the usurpation of Spain, by his Queen, Louisa, daughter of John Emanuel Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. She was born in her father's ducal palace of Villa Viciosa on the twenty-fifth of November, 1638, N.S., the festival of St. Catherine, after whom she was named, and, according to the custom of her country, was bred in all the strictness of conventual education and discipline. Her father's affairs, some years after she had arrived at a marriageable age, assumed a very serious and even critical aspect. The efforts of Spain to regain his country had little relaxed, and he was persecuted by repeated invasions from

that power, while Cromwell, in resentment of some kindnesses shown by him towards our exiled Monarch, had carried on against him a ruinous maritime war, and at length forced him to consent to a treaty little less disastrous. To crown his misfortunes, France, whose friendship with him had for some years furnished his chief ground of hope, abandoned him by the treaty of the Pyrenees. The Restoration occurred here just at that period, and, among the several expedients likely to extricate him from his difficulties which suggested themselves to the mind of John, the most hopeful seemed to be an alliance with England, especially if it could be cemented by the marriage of Charles to the Infanta Catherine.

The proposal was made immediately after, if not indeed a little before, the King's arrival. It was privately addressed, as we are told by Burnet, to General Monck, who readily adopted it, and, according to that writer, was all along the prime negotiator in the treaty, at least so far as related to the marriage, though that character is usually given by our historians to Hyde. Charles is said to have already resolved to marry none but a Catholic, and the lady had not only that qualification, but those, which were doubtless of higher estimation in his eyes, of youth, and no inconsiderable share of personal charms. He agreed to the match without hesitation; the King, her father, stipulated to give her a portion of five hundred thousand pounds, and to add to it the cession of the important post of Tangier, on the African shores of the Mediterranean, and the Island of Bombay, in the East Indies, together with a perfect freedom of trade with Portugal and her colonies, an advantage which she had hitherto uniformly denied to all other nations. These arrangements having been finally settled, orders were despatched to the Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral of England, who was then commanding a fleet sent against the piratical States of Barbary, to sail to Lisbon; to act there as proxy for his master in the solemn espousal of the Infanta; and to proceed with her on board his ship to England. On the fourteenth of May, 1662, she arrived

accordingly at Portsmouth, where she was received by the King. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, soon after Primate, was also waiting there to marry them privately, or rather to afford a pretext for persuading the people that it had been done by a protestant priest, for the Infanta wholly rejected him and his office. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," says Burnet, "came to perform the ceremony, but the Queen was bigotted to such a degree that she would not say the words of matrimony, nor bear the sight of the Archbishop: the King said the words hastily, and the Archbishop pronounced them married persons. Upon this, some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only de factô; but the Duke of York told me they were married by the Lord Aubigny, according to the Romish ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses."

After a stay of several weeks at Hampton Court, she made her first entry into London, accompanied by the King, with great pomp, on the twenty-third of August. Mr. Evelyn, evidently a spectator, and whose words I give because I think no account so particular of her person is to be met with elsewhere, says in his diary "the Queen arrived, with a train of Portuguese ladies, in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantas; their complections olivader, and sufficiently disagreeable: Her Majesty in the same habit; her foretop long, and turned aside very strangely: She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and, though low of stature, prettily shaped; languishing and excellent eyes; her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest lovely enough." Charles, who was a mere creature of sense, was for a time, as Burnet tells us, "well pleased with her, and carried things decently, and did not visit his mistress openly; but he grew weary of that restraint, and shook it off entirely." And Lord Clarendon says that "she had wit and beauty enough to make herself very agreeable to him," but adds, in contradiction to the rest of Burnet's report, that, even within a day or two after the Queen's arrival at Hampton Court, the King himself presented to her the Lady in question, Barbara Villiers,

afterwards Countess of Castlemain, and Duchess of Cleveland, and that the Queen so far mastered her feelings at the time as to receive her with an affectation of the same grace as she had shown to many others who were then introduced, but that she presently after wept and fainted, and was carried out of the room in great disorder; and this, adds the noble historian, "the King looked on with wonderful indignation, and considered it as an earnest of defiance, and his subsequent conversation on it with the Queen displeased him yet more highly."

Thus commenced a discord which so rapidly increased that it soon became evident it must end either in separation or sullen indifference. Charles, fickle, irresolute, and deceitful, terrified and exasperated her in their private interviews, by threats which he never meant to execute, or cajoled her by promises that he did not intend to keep, just as the humour of the moment happened to dictate, and when others were present, chilled her by the most mortifying neglect. A little faction in the Court, which had originally opposed the marriage, laboured, and too successfully, to widen the breach; magnified what they called her undutiful obstinacy in refusing to receive the mistress on terms of intimacy; persuaded the King, even in opposition to probabilities of which himself was fully conscious, that he could entertain no reasonable hope of having children by her; and at length goaded him on to an actual tyranny over her, which, with all his faults, was contrary to his nature. He suddenly dismissed the whole of her Portuguese retinue; ennobled the lady who was so justly the object of her aversion; and, to complete a conquest not less base than cruel, forced the Queen into a personal intercourse with her by appointing her a Lady of the Bedchamber. The spirit of the unhappy Catherine was at length finally subdued. Destitute of friends and advisers, and unable to fly from a contest to the maintenance of which the strength of her own mind was no longer equal, she suddenly determined to purchase a most imperfect tranquillity by the sacrifice of her dignity as a Queen, and her character as a gentlewoman. She received the

Countess of Castlemain into the most unbounded familiarity, and even confidence; "became merry with her," says Lord Clarendon, "in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly." Those who may wish for a more full account of these domestic miseries of Royalty may find them detailed by that Nobleman in his memoirs of his own life, with a minuteness which it would be insufferable to adopt here.

This strange alteration produced no useful consequence to the Queen beyond the termination of those frequent, and sometimes furious personal bickerings which occurred between their Majesties, while it proved in all other respects very injurious to her. The kind-hearted, who had compassionated her sufferings, suspected that she had no genuine feeling, and the high-spirited, who had applauded her perseverance, concluded that she was mean and cowardly; while those who were still anxious for her had no means of protecting her from the charge of insincerity but by ascribing to her an excess of caprice. Charles availed himself of all these pretexts for wholly estranging himself from her society, and the poor lady, either in the desperate hope of conciliating him by imitating, as far as she could, his irregularities, or of soothing her own cares by boisterous mirth, fell into strange and unbecoming excesses. "She went about masked," says Burnet, "and came into houses unknown, and danced there, with a great deal of wild frolic. Once," continues he, "her chairmen, not knowing who she was, went from her: so she was alone, and much disturbed, and came to Whitehall in a hackney coach; some say it was in a cart." Meanwhile, a profligate party in the Court, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, suggested various plans to the King for finally disposing of her. They advised him to pretend a previous marriage with the mother of his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth; to bribe the Queen's confessor to advise her to become a nun; nay, so horribly abandoned was Buckingham as to propose to Charles that she should be secretly stolen away, and sent to one of the plantations in the West Indies, on which it should be given out, in order to enable

the King to sue for a divorce, that she had deserted him; and the wretch offered himself as the perpetrator of this villainy; but Charles, adds Burnet, who relates these particulars, and may always be relied on when he speaks favourably of that Prince, or of any of his family, "rejected this with horror, saying it was a wicked thing to make her miserable only because she was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers." It was indeed well known that she had been more than once pregnant.

In this manner, always in affliction, and frequently in danger, were sacrificed twenty-three years of the innocent life of this Princess. No instance occurs of her having at any time used the slightest interference in public affairs; and, even amidst the struggles which were incessantly made around her for the advancement in England of that faith to which she was so passionately attached, she seems to have remained constantly passive: yet the detestable Oates, in 1678, accused her of plotting with certain jesuits to assassinate the King, but with such palpable falsehood that Charles spurned the charge with horror and contempt. Her sufferings, however, ended but with the life of that Prince. Burnet tells us that in his last hours "he said nothing of the Queen." Mr. Evelyn, however, says that "he intreated the Queen to pardon him," and that, "a little before, she had sent a Bishop, to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grief, and besought him to forgive her if at any time she had offended him;" and the anonymous writer of a letter in the interesting collection lately published from the British Museum, who seems, from the manner in which he speaks of circumstances, to have actually witnessed them, gives this account—"The Queen, whom he had asked for, the first thing he said on Monday, when he came out of his fit; (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fits, not being able to speak while with him;) sent a message to him, to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon, if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied, 'Alas,

poor woman, she beg my pardon! I beg her's with all my heart.'"

She remained in England during the short reign of James. We find in Evelyn's Diary this notice, under the date of the twenty-fifth of May, 1688—"The Queen Dowager, hitherto bent on her return into Portugal, now, on the sudden, on allegation of a great debt owing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay." On the coming, however, of the Prince of Orange she departed, and died at Lisbon, on the thirty-first of December, 1705, N.S.

Engraved by W Finden.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1707.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF RILEY IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

It is strange that the all-accomplished writer of the "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors" should have allotted but four lines to his commemoration of this distinguished person, whose character seemed to offer a theme peculiarly suited to the inclination of his mind, and the taste of his pen. It exhibited, with the highest polish of a courtier's manners, and the most universal urbanity, a resentment not less fierce than sudden, and a courage which bordered on temerity; the severest purity of public principles, with the careless gaieties of a man of pleasure. Statesman, orator, poet, musician, and architect, and, if not excellent, at least falling little short of eminence, in each of those qualities, the Duke of Devonshire may be fairly allowed a place in that constellation of highly-gifted nobles who ornamented, as well as enlightened, the period in which he flourished.

He was the eldest of the two sons of William, third Earl of Devonshire, by Elizabeth, second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, and was born on the twenty-fifth of January, 1640. He received his early education at home, and there can be little doubt that his tutor was Thomas Hobbes, who had served his father and grandfather in that capacity, and was a constant inmate for upwards of seventy years in their house, where he died in 1679. The notorious scepticism, however, of that extraordinary old man has perhaps induced the suppression of this fact, while some circumstances in the future life of the pupil

have tended to favour its probability. Be this as it might, we are distinctly told that, after a short residence, rather for the sake of form than for the acquisition of learning and science, in the University of Oxford, he was committed to the care of Dr. Henry Killigrew, one of the three remarkable brothers of that name, and afterwards Master of the Savoy, who accompanied him in the usual continental tour, and successfully cultivated in his mind the taste for polite literature in which that gentleman was himself an acknowledged master. On his return, in 1661, he was chosen one of the representatives for the county of Derby, for which he continued to serve while he remained a commoner, and became at length a distinguished ornament, when the character of the times seemed to him to call for his earnest exertions, to the lower House of Parliament.

In March, 1665, he was one of the brilliant train of noble volunteers who attended the Duke of York in his expedition against the Dutch, and braved the greatest hazards with a carelessness of his person which at once fixed the reputation of his courage. Another example of this ardent disposition occurred soon after on an occasion very different. He had accompanied his friend Mr., afterwards Duke of, Montagu in his embassy to Paris in 1669, where, on some sudden offence received at the opera from three officers of the royal guard, and instantly resented by a blow, all at once drew on him, and, in a most resolute defence of himself, he received from them several severe wounds, and narrowly escaped with his life; nor was his gallantry less remarkable in afterwards interceding on their behalf with Louis the Fourteenth, who had resolved to punish them severely for so scandalous an outrage. That there was more to his credit in these anecdotes than has reached us is evident from the fact that we find in the letters of Sir William Temple, then the English Minister at the Hague, one to this young Nobleman, expressly for the purpose of complimenting and congratulating him on the fame that he had acquired in these affairs, "which I do," says Sir William, "not only as a private person, and servant of your

Lordship's, who wishes you all increase of honour that may not be bought too dear, but withal as a public minister, who ought ever to consider above all things the honour of our nation, and knows that the complexion of it in times of peace is very much either mended or spoiled in the eyes of strangers by the actions and carriage of particular persons abroad. I can assure your Lordship all that can be said to your advantage upon this occasion is the common discourse here, and not disputed by the French themselves, who say that you have been as generous in excusing your enemies as brave in defending yourself," &c.

It was not till some time after this period that the Lord Cavendish, which was the title then borne by him, seems first to have taken any conspicuous part in public affairs. In the fermentation of parties, which now rose to the most extravagant height, it could not be reasonably expected that a spirit so ardent should remain long inactive. He joined, firmly but decorously, in all the measures of those who opposed the court, and what was called the Popish party. A feud which in the summer of 1677 occurred between the King and the Commons, on their invasion of the Royal Prerogative by addressing his Majesty to enter into an alliance with the States-General, and which was met by Charles with an equivalent breach of their privileges, in commanding their Speaker to adjourn the House, gave occasion to Cavendish to make his first important display there. He opposed the adjournment with vehemence, and moved a resolution declaratory of the independence of the Commons in such cases, which would have been carried had not the Speaker prevented it by adopting the coarse expedient of quitting the chair. In the same session he gave a remarkable proof of his spirit and perseverance in sifting to the utmost, and at length successfully, a mistake made by one of the tellers on a division very important to his party, in which the numbers, though reported equal, had in fact given him a majority.

This activity, and the address with which he employed it, recommended him powerfully to his political friends, and they

presently filled his hands with business. In the first session of a new Parliament, which met in October, 1678, he was named to serve on no fewer than eight committees—for privileges and elections—for framing an address to the Throne for the removal of all Popish recusants beyond a distance of ten miles from London—for examining into the cause of the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey—for preparing a bill to prohibit the sitting of Papists in Parliament—to examine Mr. Coleman, then imprisoned in Newgate, respecting what was called the Popish Plot—to confer with the Lords on the same subject—to form a representation to the King of "the danger likely to arise by the non-observance of the laws made for the preservation of the peace and safety of the kingdom"—and, finally, on the committee appointed to manage the impeachment of the Earl of Danby. In the course of these various engagements he became necessarily a frequent, and very soon an eminent speaker. His addresses to the House were distinguished not less by soundness of argument, and purity and variety of expression, than by a fluency of utterance which riveted attention, and a dignified boldness and firmness, which however never strayed beyond the limits either of good manners or good humour. Thus highly qualified for a popular leader, he became so formidable an adversary that when Charles, in the spring of 1679, professed to discontinue the use of a Cabinet, and to govern solely by the advice of an open Privy Council of thirty-five, of whom five were to be members of the House of Commons, the Lord Cavendish, as a mark of peculiar grace and confidence, was summoned as one of the latter number.

From a mixture of opposite partisans, which seems to have been the main principle on which this Council was founded, no union could have been reasonably expected but through a preference of self-interest to honour and good faith, and the event presently fell out accordingly. On the King's resolute determination in the following year to resist the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, and his consequent dissolution of the Parliament, several of the Members, and among them the

Lord Cavendish, requested the King's leave to retire from their new charge, to which Charles, in his characteristic way, answered "with all my heart." Their secession seems to have been the signal for a sudden access of fury to the leaders of the opposition, who from that hour began to associate themselves with the known enemies of the State, and plunged into the most desperate designs. Cavendish was of this number, and attended their secret meetings, with his dear friend the Lord Russell, with whom he had quitted the Council, but he happily withdrew himself from them in time. "In some one assignation," says Bishop Kennet, who has left us a few particulars of his life, "he is said to have condemned a bold overture which was then made, and to have declared with great earnestness when he came back that he would never more go amongst them." This resolution appears to have been dictated more by principle than prudence, for, though he kept it rigidly, he ceased not to acknowledge, and even cherish, them as private friends, nor did he in any degree relax the activity nor the severity of his public conduct. On the trial for high treason of Lord Russell, which soon followed, Cavendish attended, and gave the most favourable testimony in his power; and, after the condemnation of that unhappily misguided nobleman, sent to him, by Sir James Forbes, a proposal to enable him to escape, by coming to him in the Tower; exchanging habits; and remaining there in his stead, a voluntary prisoner—an offer yet more grandly refused than tendered. He, last of Russell's friends, took leave of the noble sufferer, who, on approaching the block, returned a few steps to add to his final farewell a word of exhortation to a religious life.

To recur to circumstances more immediately personal and characteristic—on the horrible assassination about this time of Mr. Thynne, who had been one of his most intimate friends, he used his utmost efforts to bring the murderers to condign punishment; and, on the scandalous acquittal of Count Konigsmark, the instigator of the crime, he challenged the Count to a decision of the question of his innocence or guilt by the old chivalrous

appeal to single combat, and a noble Peer was the bearer of the message. Konigsmark had avoided his vengeance by a timely flight. The same generous ardour which prompted him to that romantic proposal, led him soon after into a very serious private difficulty. He had received an insult within the verge of the Court from a Colonel Colepeper, whom he had brought to submission, and pardoned, on condition that he should never more appear at Whitehall. The Colonel, however, after the accession of James, whose disfavour to Cavendish was now notorious, ventured thither again, when that nobleman, who had lately become, by the death of his father, Earl of Devonshire, caned him, and led him out of the Presence Chamber by the nose. It is needless to observe here on the severities with which a personal assault in such a place were then legally visited. The Earl was immediately prosecuted, on an information in the King's Bench, and, in a spirit of revenge which reflects infinitely more discredit on the memory of James than most of the charges with which it is usually loaded, was fined thirty thousand pounds, and, in default of instant payment, was immediately committed, in defiance of his privilege, to the prison of that Court. He took, however, an early opportunity of escaping, but it was only to go to his own seat of Chatsworth, where, says Kennet, "upon the news of his arrival, the sheriff of Derbyshire had a precept to apprehend him, and bring him, with his posse to London; but he invited the sheriff, and kept him a prisoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full sum; which bond had this providential discharge—that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William."

He continued at Chatsworth, in as much privacy as his rank could allow, for the rest of that reign, apparently solely employed in forming that superb seat which remains there, a monument not less of his taste and judgment than of the grandeur of his mind, and his utter contempt of the usual applications of great wealth. The most important occupation, however, of his retirement was in the concerting with a few other great men of his party the

measures which led soon after to the introduction of a new Prince, and a new form of government. Few persons had a larger share in the accomplishment of that remarkable change than himself, and no one acted in it with more consistency and firmness. At length, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, this nobleman was one of the first to make a public declaration of his sentiments and determination, first at Derby, and then at Nottingham, where he received the Princess, afterward Queen, Anne, on her deserting her father, and escorted her, with a military guard, to her husband, Prince George of Denmark, then at Oxford. On the following day he hastened privately to London, and, strenuously joining those Peers who had assembled to move William to take on him the administration of public affairs, was presently after a main instrument in compassing that grand preliminary to the revolution, the vote of the Convention Parliament which declared the government to be abdicated, and the throne vacant—the rest followed as of course.

This nobleman was now, very deservedly, one of the first objects of the gratitude of the new rulers. On the fourteenth of February, 1689, he was sworn of their Privy Council; was immediately after appointed Lord Steward of the Royal Household; and, on the third of April following, received the Order of the Garter. The station of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, of which he had been deprived by Charles the Second, was also restored to him; the proceedings against him on the affair of Colepeper were reversed by Parliament, and voted a high breach of privilege; and the judges who had pronounced the sentence of fine and imprisonment were called to the Lords' Bar, and severely questioned and censured. At the commencement of the year 1691, William, on attending the Congress at the Hague, chose him as his chief attendant thither, and he was afterwards present with that Prince at the siege of Mons. On the twelfth of May, 1694, his honours and distinctions were at length completed by his elevation to the dignities of Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonshire. Anne, on her accession, confirmed him in the

enjoyment of his offices, and treated him with distinguished grace, but employed him in no affair of state, with the exception of appointing him a Commissioner for the Union with Scotland, the completion of which he barely survived, for he died on the eighteenth of August, 1707, and was buried with his ancestors in the church of All-hallows, in Derby, leaving, by his only lady, Mary, second daughter of James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, two sons; William, his successor; James, who married, and was seated at Staley Park, in Devonshire; and Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Wentworth, of Broadsworth, in the county of York. He had also another son, the second born, Henry, who also married, and left issue, but died before his father.

Of his Grace's literary talents and remains little need be said. His known works, with the addition of a very few of his published speeches, are comprised in two poems: the one, an ode on the death of Queen Mary; the other, bearing the singular title of "an Allusion to the Bishop of Cambray's Supplement to Homer." On the former, Dryden went so far as to say that it was the best of the many effusions in verse that the melancholy event had called forth; and the "Allusion," &c. were it better known, would probably be thought to merit praise less qualified. He was, however, a better critic than poet, and the aristocracy of wits who adorned his time, particularly the Earl of Roscommon, are said to have been in the almost constant habit of submitting their compositions to his taste and judgment.

Engraved by T.W.Mote.

SYDNEY, FIRST EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

OB. 1712.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, Published Dec^r 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN,

EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

BURNET calls him "the silentest and modestest man that ever was bred in a Court;" and he says besides, after summing up the faults and excellences of his character, that, "all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men that has been employed in our time." This encomium, if it stood alone, might be suspected of partiality, but its justice cannot be doubted, when it is recollected that no man's public character was more severely scrutinized after his fall from power than Lord Godolphin's; that the accusations against him were completely refuted; and that even his enemies admitted his uprightness and integrity to be beyond all suspicion.

Lord Godolphin was descended from an honourable Cornish family, more remarkable for their loyalty than for the extent of their possessions. He was the third son of Sir Francis Godolphin, and at an early age, impelled by that devotedness to the royal cause which was common to his house, and which some of its older members had evinced in the field, he entered as a page into the service of Charles the Second, when, as Prince of Wales, or rather as Duke of Cornwall, he visited that county. Having shared the ill fortunes of his royal patron, he was, on the restoration to the throne, appointed one of the Grooms of the King's Bedchamber, and by the assiduity and discretion which he displayed in that office, drew from Charles, no common observer of men's characters, the praise that he was never in nor out of the

way. In all the vicissitudes which the Stuart family afterwards endured, his respect and affection for them remained undiminished and unchanged; and, although his own destiny and theirs combined to cast him into a different sphere of action, he never forgot the House to which his early services had been pledged, and whose favours had placed him in the road to fortune. In the first parliament after the Restoration he represented the borough of Helston, in his native county, and soon took an active part in public business, for which his talents were admirably adapted. In 1678 he was intrusted with a diplomatic mission to Holland, and in the year following, when, on the disgrace of the Earl of Danby, the Treasury was put into commission, he was appointed one of the two commissioners. He discharged the duties of this office creditably to himself, and advantageously to the nation. His manners were so reserved and taciturn, that at first he was little liked by the people in office; but the regularity and despatch which he introduced into the public business of his department, and the incorruptness with which he administered it soon inspired general confidence, and Burnet says, "he was now considered one of the ablest men that belonged to the Court." He was soon after called to the Privy Council. His desire to avert the evils which were even then foreseen, from the tendency of the Duke of York's conduct, and probably a wish to spare Charles some of the pain which that conduct caused him during the latter part of his life, induced Godolphin to vote for the Bill of Exclusion, and to advise the King to send his brother back to Scotland. In April 1684, on the dismissal of Sir Leoline Jenkins, he was appointed Secretary of State, a post which he relinquished on being raised to that of First Commissioner of the Treasury, in the business of which he had now gained considerable experience. At the same time he was raised to the Upper House of Parliament, by the title of Baron Godolphin of Rialton, in Cornwall. That the part he had taken in the affair of the exclusion had given no lasting offence to James was evident, from that monarch having appointed him, on his accession to the Throne, Chamberlain to the Queen. In this

employment he conceived that passionate attachment for his unfortunate mistress which he ever after expressed, and which exposed him to the sneers of Swift. The tone of his gallantry, which was perhaps some centuries too late for the times in which he lived, seems to have been of that chivalrous kind which invested the objects of its devotion with a more than mortal perfection, and gave to the fervour of love all the solemnity of idolatrous worship. This foible was evident in the respectful consideration which he displayed for the Queen's wishes, by transmitting her from England such presents as he thought would please her most, and by keeping up a constant correspondence with her, after she had taken up her abode at St. Germain's. When James had brought about the crisis of his fate, Lord Godolphin was one of the few persons distinguished by his favour, and enriched by his bounty, who adhered to him in his adversity. He was commissioned by the King, with Lords Halifax and Nottingham, to treat with the Prince of Orange on his landing; and, although James's panic flight sealed his own ruin, and frustrated the negociations of his friends, Lord Godolphin is said to have discharged the difficult trust reposed in him with great prudence and discretion. True to the same principles of loyalty to the Stuarts, he opposed the propositions for declaring the throne abdicated by James, and for interrupting the hereditary succession, and voted in favour of a regency.

The decided part he had taken in these measures did not, however, prevent his new master from placing in him the confidence which his character and talents deserved. He was named one of the Privy Council, and again appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. In 1695 he was one of the seven Lords Justices, in whom the administration of public affairs was vested during the King's absence, and in 1696, on the discovery of Sir John Fenwick's projected plot, he resigned his place. Fenwick, as a last effort to preserve his life, made some discoveries in which it was supposed he had denounced Lord Godolphin, and others, as having favoured, if they had not actually engaged in, his

scheme. The strong affection which Godolphin was known to entertain, in common with a great many other persons of influence, for the House of Stuart, renders it probable that there was some ground for this accusation. It is notorious that he, as well as the Duke of Marlborough, was, at a later period, engaged in a correspondence with the exiled family; and the proposition for restoring them to the Throne, instead of continuing the regal dignity in the Hanoverian line, seemed once at least to have been favoured by Queen Anne. Either from a consciousness that he had laid himself open to the charge of being disaffected to William, or, as has been thought, at the insidious suggestion of Lord Sunderland, who desired to have him removed, Lord Godolphin at this time threw up his employment.

There had been a close and friendly intimacy of many years between Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, which was strengthened in 1698 by the marriage of Francis, the son of the former, with Lady Henrietta Churchill, who afterwards succeeded to her father's title as Duchess of Marlborough. Lord Godolphin's attachment to the celebrated Duchess, Sarah, for whose talents and character he had a great respect, although the impetuosity of her temper occasionally put his complaisance to severe trials, was another bond of union between them. Marlborough, who knew his ability in the discharge of the high post he had held, and who had the firmest reliance on his friendship, prevailed upon him again to enter the public service in 1700, on the formation of a new ministry; and, on the accession of Queen Anne, made his friend's acceptance of the office of Lord High Treasurer the condition of his assuming the command of the troops abroad. Godolphin would have declined this employment, but the entreaties of Marlborough, who positively refused to engage in operations the success of which must depend on the punctuality of supplies, unless the management of the Treasury were placed in his hands, overcame his scruples. The manner in which Lord Godolphin directed the finances of the country proved the justice of Marlborough's estimate of his character, and reflected the highest praise

on himself, while it gained him such entire confidence with the monied interest that the public credit was raised to a high pitch, and he was enabled to supply all the wants of the government with certainty, and upon more advantageous terms than had ever been made before. It was by his suggestion that the Queen was induced to subscribe one hundred thousand pounds out of her civil list towards the expenses of the war, a measure which contributed greatly to her popularity, and encouraged the people to bear their burthens with less discontent: he is said, too, to be entitled to the praise of having induced her to discontinue the pernicious practice of selling places.

In 1706 he was advanced to the dignities of Earl of Godolphin and Viscount Rialton. The part which he took respecting the union with Scotland, exposed him to the animadversions of the party who opposed that measure, but the successes of Marlborough abroad, and his own credit at home, raised their joint influence so high, that their enemies saw that little was to be gained by attacking either. The result of the general election in 1705 increased their power; and the project which Godolphin had formed, in conjunction with Marlborough, for reconciling the party differences of the Whigs and Tories, would probably have succeeded but for the treachery of one in whom they had both implicitly confided. Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, had been brought into office by their influence, and while they were endeavouring to prevail on the Queen, whose tory partialities were at this time very violent, to conciliate the Whigs by the distribution of church patronage among their party, Harley was plotting, by means of private conferences with the Queen, to which he was admitted through the agency of her intriguing favourite, Mrs. Masham, to overthrow their power, and to establish that of the Tories. For a long time both leaders refused to listen to the reports which got abroad on this subject; Marlborough was the first to entertain suspicions, but the earnest and solemn protestations which Harley made of his own innocence, and of respect and attachment to them, induced them to believe that the calumnies

against him were the mere inventions of their common enemies. When at length the proofs of his duplicity were forced upon them, and it was impossible to doubt further, Lord Godolphin sent Harley a reproachful message by the Attorney-General; this produced from him a most submissive letter, in which, with matchless effrontery, he still endeavoured to keep up the delusion, and deprecated the resentment of the man he had attempted to betray. To this Lord Godolphin replied by the following laconic note: "I have received your letter, and am very sorry, for what has happened, to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you. I am very far from having deserved it from you. God forgive you," &c. &c. He refused to appear at the Privy Council while Harley held a seat there; and persisted with so much firmness, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Queen, with whom Harley was a great favourite, that he was at length dismissed. But the determination which Harley had formed to establish the power of the tory party by the demolition of the existing ministry was increased by his recent detection. Mrs. Masham's intrigues were renewed, and the Queen was persuaded that by intrusting the government to the Tories she should increase her popularity, and relieve herself from the anxieties which the continuance of the war and the state of the nation had occasioned. The libellous sermon of Dr. Sacheverel, in which he had attacked the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, particularly the latter, whom he designated under the character of Volpone, was now raised into an undeserved importance by these lords insisting on his impeachment. The consequence, by proving the power of the Tories, was destructive of the ministry; and how far the sentence fell short of what they expected is evident from a passage in one of Lord Godolphin's letters, written just after it was pronounced. "So all this bustle and fatigue ends in no more but a suspension of three years from the pulpit, and burning his sermon at the Old Exchange." This was not the last of the mortifications Lord Godolphin was to experience, and which embittered the latter days of a life that had

been spent usefully and honourably in the service of his country. On the thirteenth of April, 1710, the ascendancy of his opponents was placed beyond doubt, by the Queen's appointing the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of Lord Chamberlain, while the Duke of Marlborough was abroad, and Lord Godolphin at Newmarket. When this news first reached him, he wrote a firm and somewhat angry remonstrance to the Queen; but was induced to qualify the latter part of his letter, and committed the still more culpable weakness of remaining in office after so gross an affront had been passed upon him. The determination of his enemies to drive him from a post which he could not prevail on himself to resign, at the time when he might have done so with a good grace, became daily more apparent. Although he retained the name of minister, the authority which should accompany it was gone; his suggestions were received with coolness and neglect; insults were unsparingly heaped on him; and some persons known to be most attached to him were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices. A pretext was only wanting to complete his removal, and this he soon furnished, by firmly opposing in council, and in the Queen's presence, the proposition for dissolving the Parliament, when he expressed his determination to retire before such a resolution could be made public. Soon after this, on the seventh of August, 1710, the Queen wrote to him a most unkind and undeserved note of dismissal, in which she affected to complain of a change that had taken place in his behaviour; and reproached him especially for what he had said in the council, and which made it impossible for her to continue him longer in her service. Her letter concludes thus: "I will give you a pension of four thousand pounds a year; and I desire that instead of bringing the staff to me, you will break it, which, I believe, will be easier to us both."

The Treasury was again put into commission, and Mr. Harley appointed the chief commissioner. The reputation of the new ministry was to be raised at the expense of that which had been displaced; the national debt was obviously the most convenient

subject for this purpose, and to the Lord Treasurer was imputed the whole blame of having incurred that debt. The celebrated Henry St. John attacked him with great virulence, and he was ably defended by Mr., afterwards Sir Robert, Walpole. It was found impossible to bring any specific accusation against him; but, after a long inquiry, the House of Commons passed an angry vote to the effect that there appeared a deficiency of thirty-five millions in the public accounts. A motion was made for printing the report, but negatived, because it would have made disclosures which would have exculpated Lord Godolphin, and exposed some of the persons whom the new ministry were inclined to favour. Mr. Walpole afterwards published a pamphlet called "The Thirty-five Millions accounted for," in which he triumphantly exposed the fallacy of the charge that had been made against the Lord Treasurer. He proved some of the accounts included in it to have belonged to the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William; and that the real sum for which the late ministry ought to account did not exceed seven millions and a half. Three millions, part of this sum, had been disbursed for extraordinaries during the war, and accounts were brought in for the remainder after the report was made. These explanations produced a re-action in public opinion; the absurdity of the charge was manifest, and that the integrity of the Lord Treasurer's administration was generally admitted even by his enemies, cannot be more forcibly evinced than by the fact that Swift felt it necessary to qualify his censure of Lord Godolphin by saying, that what he complained of was "possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption." It was a sense of gratitude for Walpole's effective vindication of his conduct that induced Lord Godolphin to recommend "that young man" to the Duchess of Marlborough with his dying breath. He did not long survive his disgrace, but died, after an excruciating illness, in the house of the Duke of Marlborough, at St. Albans, on the fifteenth of September, 1710; leaving, after having been in the Treasury, with few intervals, for more than thirty years, a very moderate fortune.

He is said to have been solemn in deportment, and difficult of access ; but it is not denied that he was the same to all men : that he was a man of honour ; and that if he was slow to promise, he was sure, having promised, to perform. He was much addicted to play, for which he made the ingenious if not satisfactory excuse, that he resorted to it "because it delivered him from the obligation to talk much." By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blague, he had issue one son, Francis, married to Lady Henrietta Churchill, who succeeded to her father's title. The last-mentioned nobleman (after the death of his only son, William, Marquis of Blandford, in 1731, without male issue) was created Baron Godolphin of Helston, in 1735, with remainder to the issue male of his uncle Henry Godolphin, provost of Eton college. He died in January, 1766, and was succeeded by Francis, son of that uncle, who dying without issue in 1785, the title became extinct.

Engraved by [illegible]

THOMAS OSBORNE, FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS.

OB. 1712.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDER VAART, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEEDS.

London, Published Oct.r 1.1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

THOMAS OSBORNE,

FIRST DUKE OF LEEDS,

Was the only surviving son of Sir Edward Osborne, Baronet, and Vice-president of the North under the Earl of Strafford, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Walmysley, of Dunkinhalgh, in the county of Lancaster, and widow of William Middleton, of Stockeld, in Yorkshire. The fortunes of his family originated in commerce. Edward Osborne, said to have been of Kentish extraction, was placed, when a youth, in the trade of Sir William Hewet, one of the most eminent and wealthy merchants of London, who had an only daughter; and there is a tradition, probably correct, that when very young, playing in her nurse's arms, in her father's house on London Bridge, she sprang out of a window into the river, and was, with the greatest difficulty and danger, saved by young Osborne, to whom, in gratitude, her father afterwards gave her in marriage, together with the whole of his great possessions. To this Edward, the nobleman who will be the subject of this sketch, was great grandson.

He was born in 1631, and probably bred in his father's family and neighbourhood in the country, since we do not meet with his name in any of the usual sources of academical intelligence. We are told that he was distinguished, even in very early youth, for a warm devotion to the royal cause, which indeed might be naturally expected, as Sir Edward, on the breaking out of the grand rebellion,

was appointed Lieutenant-general of the King's forces in his Vice-presidency, or became so in right of that office. We learn too that the son was afterwards actively and usefully engaged, but we are not informed how, in forwarding the restoration, soon after which he was brought to Court by the Duke of Buckingham, who was about his own age, and whose great possessions in Yorkshire, as well as Sir Edward's official character, had necessarily produced much intercourse, and at length intimacy, with his father. The Duke, who was then in the highest favour, presented and recommended him to the King, by whom he was knighted, and became about the same time a member of the House of Commons. In April, 1667, Charles, whose faithful application of the sums intrusted to him had been somewhat doubted, sought to remove such jealousy by appointing a small number of members of each House of Parliament commissioners for the examination of the public accounts; Sir Thomas Osborne, for he had now succeeded his father, was one of them; and it was his first public employment.

Buckingham, the constancy of whose attachments was almost proverbial, remained steady in his patronage of Osborne, who on his part spared no pains in cultivating his own prospects. He was one of the most determined supporters of the measures of the Court in the House of Commons, and this without any compromise of principle, for, as we are told by Burnet, who was his implacable enemy, "he had been always among the high Cavaliers," and the Bishop adds "that he was a very plausible speaker," nor indeed was it long before he became what has of more modern times been called "manager of the House." These merits, and a peculiar turn, the issue of a sanguine temper, for undervaluing difficulties, recommended him powerfully to the indolent Charles, and he became a personal favourite. His advancement was now almost beyond example rapid. In 1671 he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy; on the third of May, in the succeeding year, sworn of the Privy Council; on the nineteenth of June, 1673, still through Buckingham's earnest recommendation, succeeded Lord Clifford in

the great office of High Treasurer; and, on the fifteenth of August following, was created Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, in Yorkshire, and Viscount Latimer.

This surprising elevation was not, however, obtained without some just cause of reproach. Osborne purchased it of Buckingham by giving his aid, which constant perseverance, as well as talents, rendered very powerful, in working the downfall of the virtuous Clarendon. To accomplish this end he condescended to practise very unbecoming artifices. Lord Clarendon himself tells us that, on the first rumour of his own favour being on the decline, Sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the Duke of Buckingham, "had told many persons in the country, before the Parliament" (of 1667) "met, that the Chancellor would be accused of high treason, and, if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himself:" and also that he had contrived to make the King not only falsify his word, solemnly passed to the Duke of York, in the Chancellor's favour, but even deny that he had ever so pledged it. Nor were the terms on which he accepted the Treasurership very creditable to him, for he obtained it, as we are informed by Sir John Reresby, in his Memoirs, under a private agreement to pay to his predecessor a moiety of the salary. Such bargains, however, were too common in that reign to be esteemed very disgraceful.

His services proved highly acceptable to the King, who, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1674, advanced him to the title of Earl of Danby. The nature of them remained for some time unknown, but he became unpopular before his principal faults were disclosed. Even in the following year he was attacked in the House of Commons, and charged, as Burnet obscurely expresses it, with "inverting the usual methods of the Exchequer," but his accusers were left in a minority. In the same session he lost many friends by proposing a test of loyalty and fidelity to the Crown and Church, which, after long and warm debates, was voted by the Peers, and, though intended to be taken but voluntarily and unconditionally, gave little less offence to the Catholics than to the

disaffected. In the succeeding session he suffered a great mortification by the refusal of the Commons to grant a supply to the Crown for the specific purpose of replacing various sums which the King had taken by anticipation from his ordinary revenue. At length a violent suspicion arose that he had become the chief manager of those secret pecuniary negotiations with the King of France through which it had for some time been strongly suspected that Charles had rendered himself in a great measure independent of his Parliament, and Danby strove to remove that opinion by openly inveighing against the French, which he did so naturally as to provoke a warm discussion with Rouvigny, their minister here, who charged him with injuring the interests of both Princes. The artifice, however, did not succeed with those for whom he meant it, and the doubts remained unallayed. At length he found that the only means by which he could avoid the utter ruin of his credit, with all its fearful consequences, would be to adopt sincerely the policy which he had of late pretended to hold, and to detach the King from his connection with France; and this he had the address to accomplish, and publish most effectually, by persuading Charles to join the allies, and not only to invite their leader, the Prince of Orange, to London at the end of the campaign of 1677, but to give him the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, in marriage.

The effect, however, of these expedients was but transient. Not many months had passed when a disagreement occurred between the Lord Treasurer and Ralph (afterwards Duke of) Montagu, who had been for some years Charles's ambassador at Paris, and was therefore necessarily privy to Danby's transactions with that court, and possessed of many of his most confidential letters. Dreading an accusation from him, Danby easily prevailed on the King, who was even more interested than himself, to denounce Montagu to the House of Commons as guilty of certain traitorous correspondence with the Court of Rome, and, in order to repossess the Treasurer of those letters, to give sudden order for the seizure of his papers, the most important of which Montagu had pre-

viously used the precaution to place in other hands. The charge was accordingly made, and largely inquired into, when Montagu produced in his defence, among other documents, two of those letters, in which Danby had distinctly commissioned him to pledge to the King of France Charles's most strenuous endeavours to procure a peace, on condition that Louis should pay to him annually three hundred thousand pounds for three years, adding, with a gratuitous imprudence, that this arrangement would save so long the King from the inconvenience of meeting a Parliament, and a strict caution to conceal the whole from the King's Secretary of State, who was, in fact, the only proper medium for diplomatic correspondence. After a long and violent debate, not on the fact, of which there could be no doubt, but on the legal character of his offence, Danby was, on the twenty-first of December, 1678, impeached of high treason. The articles of impeachment, which were six, were immediately sent up to the Lords, with a request that he might be committed to custody, which they refused, and entered, with much heat, and variety of opinion, into a long discussion of the nature of his offences, and the proposed method of prosecution; while the King, enraged and mortified by the disclosure of his secret, and the stain which it had cast on his credit, determined to protect Danby, and stopped all proceedings for the present by proroguing, and then dissolving, the Parliament. "On the twentieth of January," (1678, O. S.) says Sir John Reresby, which was ten days before the prorogation, "I spoke both with the King and the Duke, who both declared they would adhere to my Lord Treasurer." The new Parliament met in the following March, and, the Commons showing an inclination to revive the prosecution, Reresby tells us again that "the King, coming to the House of Lords on the twenty-third of that month, informed both Houses that it was by his particular order the Lord Treasurer had written the two letters produced by Montagu; that it was not the Lord Treasurer who had concealed the plot, but that it was himself who told it his lordship from time to time, as he thought fit. His Majesty then declared he had granted the

said nobleman a full pardon; and that, if occasion required, he would give it him again ten times over: that, however, he intended to lay him aside from his employments, and to forbid him the Court." The House of Commons now attacked him with renewed fury, denying the validity of the King's pardon; while the Lords, as a middle course, proposed to vote his committal; to connive at his escape; and then to pass an act for his banishment. All this was done accordingly, but the Commons, as soon as he had disappeared, proceeded to a bill of attainder, and, on the seventeenth of April, 1679, he surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower. Great confusion now arose. Danby demanded an immediate trial, and determined to plead the King's pardon; the Commons insisted that the Bishops had no jurisdiction on charges of treason, and must not be admitted to vote; angry conferences were held between the two Houses; and at length Charles cut short these, and some other proceedings which were just at that time very irksome to him, by another prorogation and dissolution of Parliament.

Danby, however, was suffered to continue a prisoner, forgotten, as it seemed, by the King, and disliked by the Duke, both of whom were now occupied in avoiding the peril of new plots, and in practising new plans of policy, nor was he even mentioned in either of the two Parliaments which sat during his restraint. He remained in the Tower for five years, making frequent applications in vain to be admitted to bail. Sir John Reresby tells us that he often visited him there, and was surprised at the philosophic patience and equanimity which he manifested during his persecution, for such it certainly was, let his demerits have been what they might. At length he prevailed on the Judges to hear his case argued, and, on the twelfth of February 1684, N. S., they severally delivered their opinions, and concurred unanimously that he ought to be bailed, when he was bound in twenty thousand pounds to appear in the House of Peers in the succeeding session, and the Dukes of Somerset and Albemarle, and the Earls of Oxford and Chesterfield, became his sureties in five thousand each.

"He came the same day," says Reresby, "to kiss his Majesty's hand in the bedchamber, when I happened to be present. The King received him very kindly, and when the Earl complained of his long imprisonment, his Majesty told him he knew it was against his consent, which his lordship thankfully acknowledged, but they had no manner of private discourse together."

Charles survived this interview not many months, and in the following short and unhappy reign Danby's name is scarcely mentioned till its conclusion was at hand, when we find him a party in those secret consultations of eminent persons which were held at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in which the plan for the great change which was at hand was conceived and matured. He entered into it with resolution and sincerity; framed the Prince of Orange's declaration; and, as soon as William had determined on the invasion of England, took measures for raising troops in Yorkshire, where his influence lay, to aid that enterprize, should it be necessary. The Prince came, and was successful, but the Princess remained in Holland during the discussions of different schemes for vacating and then filling the throne, in which some persons were found bold and profligate enough to propose that he should be placed on it independently, to the exclusion of the daughters of King James. Danby, stung perhaps with remorse for the part he had already taken, sent privately to the Princess, "and gave her," says Burnet, "an account of the present state of the debate, and desired to know her own sense of the matter; for, if she desired it, he did not doubt that he should be able to carry it for setting her alone on the Throne; but she made him a very sharp answer; and, not content with this, she sent both Lord Danby's letter, and her answer, to the Prince. William bore this," adds Burnet, "with his usual phlegm, for he did not expostulate with the Earl of Danby on it, but continued still to employ and to trust him." That nobleman indeed was one of a very few whom he desired specially to attend him a few days after, to hear from himself the terms on which he would accept the Crown, together with the incredible declaration of his indifference as to the possession of it upon any.

Danby indeed received immediately further and greater proofs of favour. He was appointed to the distinguished station of President of the Council, and, on the twentieth of April, 1689, advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Caermarthen. He now, in spite of painful experience, plunged again into the mazes of party and intrigue; became envious of the favour enjoyed by the Marquis of Halifax, whose disgrace he sought and accomplished; and presently after was attacked in his turn by weapons the edge of which it was supposed had been blunted by time—the old subjects of the impeachment and pardon were revived in the House of Peers, but the design of his enemies was warded off for the time by the sudden discovery of a plot to restore King James, and the capture of Lord Preston, one of the leaders in it, who had embarked on his way to communicate personally with that Prince, of both which services Lord Caermarthen happened to have been the main instrument. On the fourth of May, 1694, he was created Duke of Leeds; but in the following year he became the object of a very serious charge —the having accepted a sum of five thousand guineas from the East India Company, as a price for his influence in procuring for them a new charter. In the examination of this matter by the House of Commons it was proved that such a sum had been put into the hands of a third person, with instructions to pay it for that purpose to Caermarthen, who, according to the evidence of that person, refused to accept it, but advised him to keep it for himself. Other mysterious and doubtful circumstances distinguished this inquiry, which ended in an impeachment for a misdemeanor, and a demand on the part of the Duke to be heard in justification of himself at the Commons' bar, where he denied the accusation, and required a speedy trial; but the session soon after ended, and with it the prosecution, for it was never after renewed. In 1701, the Lords dismissed the impeachment.

Here nearly ended the political life of this nobleman, for he had resigned the office of Lord President at the time he was elevated to the Dukedom. It is true that he was called to the Privy Council by Queen Anne, but he held no other public situation. His

affection however to party politics remained with him even to the close of life, for he engaged with ardour in the discussions on the affair of Dr. Sacheverell, and is reported to have spoken on that occasion with little respect of the revolution for which he had so signally striven. He published in 1710 a volume of "Memoirs relating to the Impeachment of Thomas, Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the year 1678;" and another, of his correspondence, in several letters, with some statesmen, on matters connected with the same subject. On the twenty-sixth of July, 1712, he died at Easton in Northamptonshire, the seat of his grandson, the Earl of Pomfret, when on a journey to his own mansion in Yorkshire; leaving a public character which cannot, however briefly, be more justly summed up than in the words of the late Lord Orford, who says "if the Earl of Danby was far inferior in integrity to Clarendon and Southampton, he was as much superior to Shaftesbury and Lauderdale."

The first Duke of Leeds married Bridget, second daughter of Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey, by whom he had issue three sons, Edward, Thomas, and Peregrine, by whom, the two elder dying before him, he was succeeded in his titles and great estates; and six daughters: Elizabeth, who died unmarried; Anne, wife, first to Robert Coke, of Holkham, in Norfolk, ancestor to the late Earl of Leicester, of that surname, and eventually to Horatio Walpole, uncle to the first Earl of Orford, but had no issue by either; Bridget, married, first to Charles Fitzcharles, Earl of Plymouth, one of the natural sons of King Charles the Second; secondly to Philip Bisse, Bishop of Hereford; Catharine, to James Herbert of Kingsey, in Bucks, son and heir of James, a younger son of Philip Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; Martha, first, to Edward Bayntun, secondly to Charles Granville, second Earl of Bath of his family; and Sophia, first to Donatus, a grandson and heir to Henry O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and after, to William Fermor, Lord Lempster, father to the first Earl of Pomfret.

Engraved by J. Cochran

QUEEN ANNE.

OB. 1714.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

QUEEN ANNE.

This Princess, the last of the Stuart dynasty who occupied the Throne of these realms, was the daughter of James the Second, when Duke of York, by Anne Hyde, his first lady, whose father was the eminent and virtuous Chancellor Clarendon, the historian of the momentous times in which he lived. She was born at Twickenham on the sixth of February, 1665, and as her father had not at that period abjured the Protestant religion, a step which led to all the woes and disasters which clouded and embittered his after life, she was educated in the doctrines of the reformed Church. In 1683 she was married to Prince George, the presumptive heir to the Crown of Denmark, a personage as it seems of such insignificance, that little is to be inferred of his character but from the silent neglect which it has historically experienced. On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, if James's daughter had been permitted to follow the inclination she manifested, she would have adhered to the falling fortunes of her father. Her husband continued about the King's person, and distinguished himself in those hours of anxiety and peril, when the news of one misfortune crowded so fast upon the heels of another that the Monarch had scarcely time to consider his actual position, by only exclaiming with a listless vacuity, "Est-il possible?" a phrase so frequently used by him that it had gained him a nick-name, and when, at a convenient time he was found to have joined the multitude who had fled the Court, the intelligence of his disaffection extorted from the King no further expression of surprise than

"Est-il possible gone too!" When James learnt, as he did soon afterwards, that his daughter had been persuaded or forced by Lady Churchill, who had even then acquired a powerful ascendancy over her, and by Compton, Bishop of London, to repair to Northampton, the deserted father felt that the measure of his afflictions was filled up, since his children had combined with his enemies to effect his destruction.

The stern monarch who succeeded to James's abdicated sceptre, showed little favour to the Princess or her adherents; and by the coldness with which he regarded her and Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, seemed to consider that the child who had abandoned her parent in his adversity, and the soldier who had betrayed his sovereign when fortune frowned upon him, were equally objects of suspicion. Towards the close of William's life, when the infirmities of age were stealing upon him, and the thought that no son of his could succeed to the power he wielded, had begun to influence his mind, the King treated them with more consideration, and restored them, if not to his confidence, at least to his favour.

When the throne became again vacant in 1702, Anne, before she ascended it, requested her father's approbation of that step, holding out, as it is said, the prospect that her temporary accession would pave the way to her family's resuming their hereditary station. The indignant reply of the monarch precluded all hope of his acquiescence. He said that, although it might be his fate to suffer from injustice, he would never authorise it by any act of his; and Anne is suspected to have taken upon herself the regal dignity with the determination of atoning for her filial disobedience by relinquishing, when a favourable opportunity should occur, the power which she cannot be said to have willingly usurped. Her public conduct and the legislative measures of her reign were not, it is true, consistent with that determination; but the bias of her secret inclinations was perfectly well known, and while it encouraged the hopes of the adherents of the Stuart family, excited the strongest jealousy and awakened the utmost vigilance of the

party opposed to their restoration. The latter had the skill or the good fortune to turn every attempt which was made by their opponents into the means of defeating the object of their enterprises; and it was the painful destiny of the Queen to be forced to sanction and confirm those laws which annihilated the expectations of her family and crushed her own most favoured desires. The conflict between natural affection and public duty to which she was thus exposed was a source of constant disquiet and mortification, and rendered her private life as full of sorrow and suffering, as the public events of her reign were brilliant and honourable to the national reputation.

In March, 1702, when the reign of Anne commenced, England was divided into three principal parties: the Jacobites, whose hopes of the restoration of the Stuart family were yet strong, the Tories, and the Whigs. The Queen's accession was looked upon by each of these with satisfaction. The two former believed that the principles to which they adhered would receive countenance from the Queen; the latter trusted that their power was too well established by the events of William's reign to suffer from the attempts of their opponents. The indolence and facility of temper which characterised the new Queen laid her open to the influence of the stronger minded Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, and the party with which she was connected, and to this influence has been ascribed the readiness with which Anne adhered to the principles of foreign policy which had actuated the conduct of the late Sovereign. The triple alliance between England, Holland and Germany, the object of which was to check the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., was confirmed, and in May, 1702, the declaration of hostilities by those powers against France was published. Then commenced that long contest known by the name of the war of the succession, which had for its object to prevent the union of the Crowns of Spain and France, and which the genius of Marlborough and Eugene rendered so brilliant and honourable to the armies they directed. The battles of Hochstet, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, eclipsed the glories of

Crecy and Agincourt, and carried the renown of the British arms to a pitch of glory which has never been surpassed.

In the year 1707, the union with Scotland, a measure which all enlightened politicians had long advocated and which preceding monarchs had in vain attempted to effect, was happily accomplished The prosperity and tranquillity of both branches of the nation was secured, and the succession, contrary to the expectations, as well as the wishes, of the Queen, settled in the house of Hanover. On the death of her husband, Anne's predilection in favour of her family began to be more openly manifested. The power which the Duchess of Marlborough had acquired over her too easy mistress, and which she had used with imprudent audacity, was undermined by the intrigues of the Tory party. A more obsequious favourite, in the person of Mrs. Masham, supplanted the imperious Duchess, and Godolphin, Sunderland, Somers and Walpole, her Majesty's Whig Ministers, gave way to the Tory leaders Harley and Bolingbroke, with their nine illustrious but less eminent colleagues. Parliament was dissolved, and in the general election which ensued, the combined influence of the High Church party, which Dr. Sacheverel's trial had roused, and of the Jacobites, returned a large proportion of Tories to the House of Commons. The creation at once of twelve new members of the House of Lords ensured in that assembly a predominance of power in favour of the new Government, and thus strengthened, a peace was determined on, and carried into effect. The negotiations for the treaty of Utrecht were prosecuted, and the terms arranged by Bolingbroke and Prior; but, as her resolute entrance on the war at the commencement of her reign had been induced by the authoritative counsels of the Duchess of Marlborough, the peace by which that war was terminated, and Europe for a time tranquillised, may be no less properly ascribed to the gentler insinuations of Mrs. Masham.

The disgrace of Marlborough, and the sacrifice of Anne's earlier friends, had not the effect of procuring for the Queen that support which she had calculated upon from her new adherents. Her

supposed partiality for her family rendered her an object of suspicion to a great portion of her people, and, although she gave no more open demonstration of that partiality than might be fairly referred to the constitutional moderation of her temper, and that disinclination to proceed to extremities against those with whom nature and affection had linked her, which was not only excusable but laudable, her existence was embittered by the jealousies to which she was exposed. The latter part of her life was disquieted, and, as it should appear, her death accelerated by the disunion which had sprung up between Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke, who, from being close allies, had become irreconcileable foes. The ambitious and intractable spirit of Bolingbroke alarmed the more timid and dissembling Lord Treasurer, who complained to the Queen, and denounced his rival as a dangerous person. The Secretary had, however, gained an advantage which enabled him to triumph over his former friend. That same Mrs. Masham, by whose assistance Harley had in other times supplanted his opponents, had been, or thought she had been neglected and ill used by him. Bolingbroke courted her friendship with the utmost assiduity, and excited her animosity against Lord Oxford, whom she did not scruple to call "the most ungrateful man to the Queen, and all his best friends, that ever was born." The result of this intrigue soon became apparent. Bolingbroke, aware of his strength, openly reproached Lord Oxford; accused him of betraying the Queen's honour; of intriguing with her apparent successor, of endeavouring to restrict her just prerogative, and to thwart those who were best inclined to serve her. The council board became a scene of violent contention, in which the exasperated feelings of the rival ministers led them beyond the bounds of common decency. Scurrilous reproaches, and bitter recriminations, which even the presence of her Majesty could not repress, occupied the time which ought to have been spent in grave debate. They produced, but did not end with, Lord Oxford's dismissal; for on the question of putting the office of Lord Treasurer, from which he had been displaced, into commission, a dis-

cussion ensued among the Privy Councillors, at which her Majesty assisted, and which was carried on with great heat until two o'clock in the morning. The fatigue and mental anxiety to which she was thus exposed threw her into great agitation, which was immediately followed by a serious illness. She ascribed the attack from which she was suffering to this cause, and told the physicians attending her, that she should not outlive it. This was on the twenty-eighth of July, 1714. Two days afterwards she was seized with a lethargy from which she never recovered, but remained in a state of insensibility until the morning of the first of August, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign.

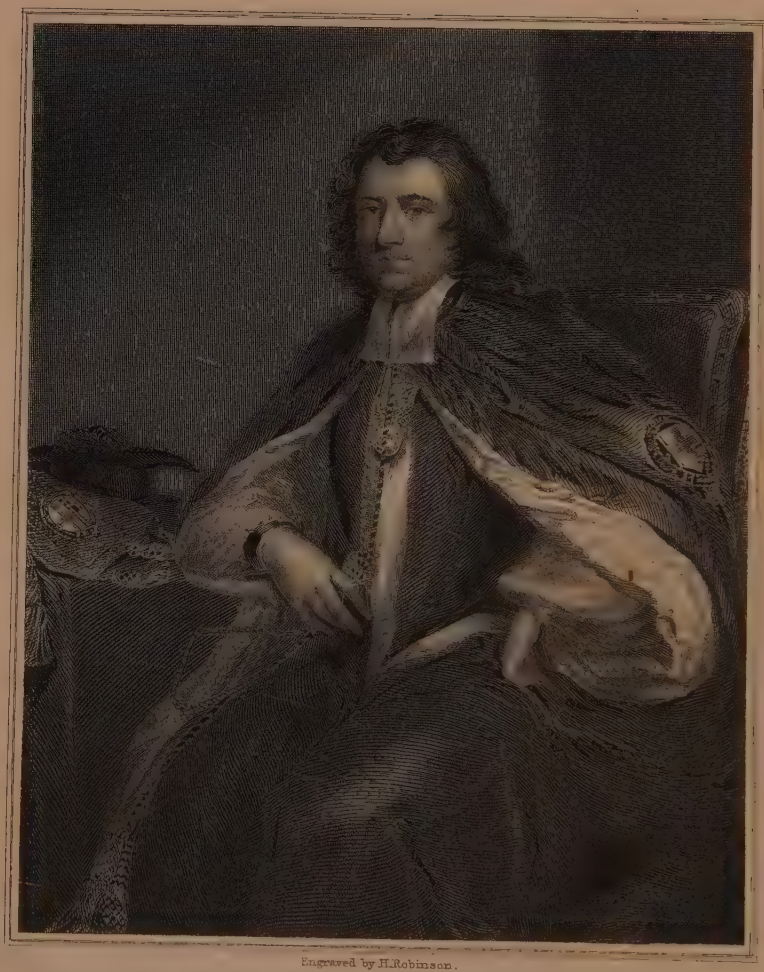
The times in which she lived were so fertile in the production of great men, and important events, that a brilliant lustre was shed over them, to which however the Queen personally contributed little. Before her time, at distant intervals, Shakspeare, and Milton, and Dryden had diffused the glorious lights emanating from the genius which inspired them over the literature of England, but all around and between them was in comparative obscurity. In her reign, Pope, Swift, Addison, Prior, Congreve, Steele, Gay, and a crowd of other highly gifted men, poured out in abundant profusion, and at nearly the same period, the treasures of their intellect, and established for the nation a fame so great and lasting, that posterity is justified in calling this the Augustan age of English literature. The other arts of peace proceeded with equal success; commerce, manufactures and agriculture, felt the same favouring influence, and, joined to the brilliant triumphs which had attended the British arms abroad, raised the glory of the country to a high pitch of prosperity and renown.

The fitness of Anne for exercising the royal sway is admitted on all hands to have been much more than questionable. Constitutionally mild, timid and indolent, she was influenced by the insolence or the cunning of those who surrounded her, and, until disappointment and treachery had rendered her cautious, was the unsuspecting instrument of their projects. When caution came

at length, it brought with it an unreasonable degree of suspicion, and she acquired the conviction that she was exposed to impositions without having the prudence and sagacity which were necessary to distinguish between the true and the false. In private she was a model of conjugal affection and fidelity. Neither the cares nor the occupations of public business induced her to omit the most assiduous attention to her husband in the long and painful illness which ended in his death; and in her affection and regard for her children, of whom she had nine, all of whom she had the misfortune to survive, she set an example worthy of imitation by all, and most honourable to her exalted station. Glorious and prosperous as her reign was to the nation, her life was filled with pain and sorrow. The early deaths of her children, and the lamentable circumstances of her exiled family, poisoned her existence, and presented a striking proof of the wide distinction between personal happiness and external grandeur. Forced by circumstances into the occupation of the throne, and bound by the dictates of conscience to the support of the Protestant religion, she was reduced to the sad alternative of disregarding the emotions of filial tenderness, or of violating obligations not less solemn or imperative than those of natural duty and affection, and perhaps of plunging a nation into anarchy and ruin. That she attempted to reconcile these conflicting duties, and that the attempt was in vain, formed the heavy cloud which hung over her whole life, and has exposed her memory to the reproaches of a party which upon a fair consideration of the circumstances of her position she can in no respect be said to have deserved.

Her administration of the executive power was remarkably lenient; and it is a fact worthy of remembrance that, notwithstanding the troubles and violence in which the state of politics involved her reign, no execution for high treason occurred in its whole duration. She was punctual and exemplary in the discharge of her religious duties; maintained and encouraged the purity of the clerical profession; and with laudable generosity set the first example, and at her own expense, of augmenting the livings of the

poorer members of the Church of England, to whom at this day "Queen Anne's bounty" is a phrase of consolation and encouragement. Her income was managed with strict economy, and so as to have sufficient funds at her disposal for indulging that liberal benevolence in which she delighted. She possessed a good natural capacity, and very respectable accomplishments; was skilled in painting and music, and had good taste in all the fine arts. The delivery of her public speeches was characterised by a dignified propriety, and so aided by a remarkably pleasing voice, that they are said to have charmed the ears of her audience. Her person was of the middle size and well proportioned; her hair of a dark brown colour; her complexion ruddy, her features regular, her countenance rather round than oval, and her general aspect might more properly be called comely than majestic. A generous and indulgent mistress, and a warm friend, she had inspired all who surrounded her with feelings of sincere affection, while the paternal regard she had on all occasions manifested for the welfare of her people had made her so universally beloved that her death was more sincerely lamented than that of perhaps any Monarch who ever sate on the throne of these realms. Without any of those qualifications which constitute what is called a great Sovereign, she was one of the best and purest; and was unquestionably entitled to the expressive epithet of "the Good Queen Anne," by which she was long remembered.



Engraved by H.Robinson.

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OB. 1714-15.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

London Published [illegible] by E. Harding, 8 Pall Mall.

GILBERT BURNET,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This eminent person, with whose character and conduct we should have been perhaps better acquainted had he spoken less of them himself, was born in Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of September, 1643. One of his sons, who subjoined to the most important of his works a slight sketch of his life, which has furnished the ground for all succeeding compilers, has neglected to inform us even of the christian names of his parents, telling us only that his father was an eminent civil lawyer, of an ancient family in the county of Aberdeen, and his mother a sister of that furious covenanter, Archibald Johnstone, better known by the title of Lord Warristoun, who had sat as a Peer in Cromwell's Scottish Parliament, and suffered death for treason in 1663. From that uncle, and from his mother, who was also a stedfast zealot for the same cause, Gilbert imbibed a presbyterian inclination which certainly ever after tinged all his notions of government, both in church and state; while his father, from whom he received his early education, and who had turned with disgust from the frantic violence of the schismatics, and embraced episcopacy, determined to place him at least in the profession of the established church, instead of the law, to which he had been originally destined. He had however studied for some years in the college of Aberdeen before this resolution was taken, where, at the age of eighteen, he passed his examination as a probationer, or candidate for holy orders, and, soon after, having refused a benefice which

might probably have placed him in obscurity for life, came to England, and visited Oxford and Cambridge, in which the extent of his precocious talents and erudition presently gained for him not only the intimacy but the esteem of the most eminent persons there. Having spent six months in those classical abodes, he embarked for Holland, and, after an inquisitive tour through the United Provinces, and part of France, where he spent some time in Paris, he came first to London in the beginning of the year 1665. Here, chiefly through the special recommendations which he had brought from the two universities, he became known to the persons at that time most remarkable in every branch of literature; enlarged and varied the scope of his studies; and was elected a member of the Royal Society, then a most choice fraternity, under the presidency of his countryman, Sir Robert Murray.

Thus introduced to the world, and fortified by reputation and connections, he returned to Scotland, and accepted from Sir Robert Fletcher the living of Saltoun, of which he had no sooner taken possession than he drew up, to use his own words, a memorial of the grievances Scotland lay under by the misconduct of its Bishops, charging them with utter neglect of their pastoral duties, with avarice, tyranny, and licentious lives. He sent transcripts of this singular piece, signed with his name, to most of those prelates, and was soon after cited before the whole body, with Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, at their head. Sharp proposed that he should be deprived and excommunicated, to which the rest, conscious of the tottering state of the Scottish hierarchy, refused their assent; and Burnet, who stedfastly refused to make any apology, was at length dismissed without penalty. This extraordinary boldness, and in a youth of the age of two-and-twenty, procured him much fame and notoriety, especially with the great presbyterian body, to which the King's ministers in Scotland were at that time known to lean, and certainly paved the way to his future advancement. They began to consult him privately on the affairs of the church, and his advice, as might be expected, generally agreed with their opinions. He had the good fortune, or the

address, to gain at once the favour of the Earl, soon after Duke, of Lauderdale, who had the chief management of Scottish affairs, and the Duke of Hamilton, of whose natural power in that country it is needless to speak, though those noblemen had been long at variance. Nay, such were the kindness and confidence in which they mutually held him, that he effected, as he tells us, a reconciliation between them. Lauderdale is said to have advised with him at that time on public affairs the most important and delicate, while Hamilton entrusted to him the most private papers of his family, and employed him to compose those memoirs of the Dukes of that House, which were afterwards published under his name. "I wrote those memoirs," says he, in his History of his own Times, "with great sincerity;" yet he blindly adds, even in the same breath for the sake of sullying the memory of Charles the First with indefinite censures, "I did indeed conceal several things that related to the King: I left out some passages that were in his letters, in some of which there was too much weakness, and in others too much craft and anger." While he was occupied in that work, he composed also, with the view of reconciling his vacillation between the two churches, his "Modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist," an apology which left his conduct and his motives nearly where it found them.

In 1669 he was chosen Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, an office which he held for more than four years, and the only one in which we at any time find him in his own country. During that period he twice, as he tells us, refused the offer of a Bishoprick there. His activity and his ambition prompted him to fly at higher game than Scotland could produce, and he secretly longed to figure in courts and states. He made a journey therefore to London, under the pretence, for a mere pretence it must have been, of seeking information from the Duke of Lauderdale wherewith to enrich his Memoirs of the Hamiltons, and the Duke, who on his part stood mainly in need of an able adviser and apologist, received him cordially, in the hope of retaining him in at least one of those characters. He returned however to Glasgow

in 1671, but it was to take a wife, Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis, who was many years older, as well as much richer, than himself. This marriage, which seemed to connect him still more firmly with the Presbyterian interest, as the lady and her family were among its chief supporters, probably suggested to him the prudence of making some new professions to counterbalance the obloquy to which it might give occasion, and he published an argument in defence of royalty and episcopacy, with the title of "A vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws, of the Church and State of Scotland," which he dedicated to Lauderdale, a person utterly careless of both.

He went again to London in 1673, giving out that the sole object of his journey was to procure a licence for the publication of his biographical work, which might certainly have been as easily obtained without his personal attendance. His real design however was to make a vigorous effort for preferment and distinction. Lauderdale now presented him and his book to the king, who, as he tells us in his "History of his own Times," immediately read some parts of it himself, and expressed his approbation of it. If this relation be somewhat marvellous, as it certainly is, his account, in the next paragraph, of his second audience is absolutely incredible. Take it therefore in his own words:—"He admitted me to a long private audience that lasted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him that I thought became my profession. He run me into a long discourse about the authority of the church, which he thought we made much of in our disputes with the dissenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the papists. I saw plainly what he aimed at in this; and I quickly convinced him that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility.—He complained heavily of the Bishops for neglecting the true concerns of the church, and following Courts so much, and being so engaged in parties. I went through some other things, in relation to his course of life, and entered into many particulars with much freedom.

He bore it all very well, and thanked me for it. Some things he freely condemned, such as living with another man's wife; other things he excused, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleasure. He seemed to take all I had said very kindly, and, during my stay at court, he used me in so particular a manner, that I was considered as a man growing into a high degree of favour."

He was presently after introduced by the Earl of Ancram to the Duke of York. "Lord Ancram," says he, "had a mind to engage me to give his Royal Highness an account of the affairs of Scotland; but I avoided that, and very bluntly entered into much discourse with him about matters of religion. He said some of the common things of necessity of having but one church, otherwise we saw what swarms of sects did rise upon our revolt from Rome, and these had raised many rebellions, and the shedding of much blood; and he named both his father's death, and his great-grandmother's, Mary Queen of Scots. He also turned to some passages in Heylin's History of the Reformation, which he had lying by him, and the passages were marked, to show upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all these particulars, and showed him the progress that ignorance and superstition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodshed was occasioned by the Papal pretensions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a source never to be exhausted. I told him that it was a thing he could never answer to God nor the world; that being born and baptised in our church, and having his father's last orders to continue stedfast in it, he had suffered himself to be seduced, and, as it were, stolen out of it, hearing only one side, without offering his scruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to say in answer to them; and that he was now so fixed in his Popery, that he would not so much as examine the matter. The Duke, upon this conversation," he adds, "expressed such a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him."

That Charles was one of the best tempered and most courteous,

and James one of the most phlegmatic and patient, princes in the world, are facts historically proved; nor has Burnet given us any where reason to suppose that he ever suffered himself to be put out of his way by scruples of modesty or politeness; but can it, I say, be believed that a young clergyman, with nothing to plead in his favour but the reputation of talents and erudition, together perhaps with some slight party services in Scotland, should have thus personally bearded and bullied his sovereign, and the presumptive heir to the Throne, and in the very hour of his first admission to their presence? No, it is utterly impossible; and it is the extravagance, to use a mild term, of these, and many other passages in his History of his own Times, that has rendered his fidelity generally and deservedly questionable.

During his visit, however, to London, the King heard him preach, and appointed him one of his chaplains in ordinary, but he soon lost that distinction; for he had scarcely returned to Scotland when his patron, Lauderdale, fell into a temporary disgrace, in which he became involved, through the treachery, as he says, of the Duke himself, who had falsely laid to his charge the miscarriage of some affairs in Scotland. Rendered unpopular there by that imputation, which threatened also his best prospects in England, he resigned his professorship at Glasgow, and made another journey hither in 1674, to endeavour to remove the effect of it; but he was presently after his arrival struck out of the List of Chaplains, and forbade to appear at Court. Early in the succeeding year an inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale was instituted by the House of Commons, and Burnet, after a little hesitation, declared at length to a Committee, the whole of his most secret communications with that nobleman, for which, according to the common fate of those who make such disclosures, he was overwhelmed with the praises of one faction, and the execrations of another. He now resolved to pass the remainder of his life in England, and to confine his views to his profession, and his hopes of patronage in it to the puritan party, to which he was now more than ever grateful. He was accord-

ingly recommended by the Lord Holles, better known as one of the notorious five members of the Long Parliament, to the Master of the Rolls, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, a worthy man, but a votary not less strenuous to the good old cause, for the office of Preacher at his Public Chapel, and was soon after chosen lecturer of St. Clement's.

Why he delayed so long the publication of his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton is unknown, but they did not appear till 1676. He printed, soon after, "An Account of a Conference between Dr. Stillingfleet, Mr. Coleman, afterwards sacrificed to the Popish Plot, and himself," which was held at the request of a Lady Tyrwhit, whose mind was painfully wavering between the Catholic and Protestant churches, and which ended with the usual effect of such disputations. But he began now to be busied in collecting the materials, and forming the plan of that work, from which he chiefly, and deservedly too, derived his literary fame, the History of the Reformation; for the publication of which, or rather of the first volume, which did not appear till 1679, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to him, together with their request that he would continue and complete the task. This distinction, which no author had ever before experienced, would have been more estimable if party spirit had been wholly absent from the motives which produced it; but the truth is, that the book appeared during the utmost heat of the pretended Popish plot, at an hour when no compliment was thought too high to be bestowed on the champion of the low church, as Burnet about that time began to be considered. The occurrence of that monstrous scene of perjury and bloodshed drew him from a retirement which he had adopted for the purposes of study, and he seems, from his own account, to have been very busy among several of the actors in it, probably with the view of gaining intelligence which might make him again acceptable at Court, where indeed we presently after find him, in the same boasted familiar intercourse with the King as formerly.

In 1681 he published an interesting account of the life and death of the libertine Earl of Rochester, whom he had sedulously

attended in his last illness; and about the same time addressed a letter at great length to the King, arraigning the whole of his public and private conduct, with a severity of judgment, and coarseness of expression, which again lead us to painful doubts of his veracity—to doubt whether such a letter was ever written —yet more whether it was ever delivered.—Let the reader judge from a few extracts, which are not selected for their sharpness so much as for their brevity. "Most people grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you: all the distrust your people have of you; all the necessities you are now under; all the indignation of Heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all your counsels; flow from this—that you have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures.—If you will go on in your sins, the judgments of God will probably pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after-ages; and, after this life, you will be for ever miserable, and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day, that I gave you this free and faithful warning." The letter is dated on the twenty-ninth of January, and concludes with declaring that the writer chose that day in hope that on the morrow (the anniversary of his father's murther) the King might be in a disposition to weigh it the more carefully. Burnet alludes to this letter in his History of his own Times; and his son, by whom that work was published, with a brief sketch, as we before observed, of his father's life subjoined, gives there a copy at length, which he says he found among the bishop's papers after his death.

He printed also in 1681, a Life of Sir Matthew Hale, and a treatise which he entitled "a History of the Rights of Princes in disposing of ecclesiastical Benefices, and Church Lands," as well as a defence of that work, in answer to an anonymous attack. The return of the Duke of York from Scotland, and the triumph; of that Prince's party over the presbyterian faction in the following year, seem materially to have confused Burnet's political speculations. He had long declined to accept offers of

important promotion from each, with the view of preserving that reputation for impartiality and independence at which he had always aimed, and he now suddenly found himself compelled to expose openly his affection for the one, to the extinction for ever of all hope of favour, or even forgiveness, from the other. The treason which took the name of the Rye-house Plot was discovered, and it presently appeared that all the men of rank who were concerned in it were his most intimate and confidential friends, nor did himself escape suspicion. It is indeed evident, from more than one passage in his history of this year, that he was cognisant of the conspiracy, though proof was wanting of his being actively engaged in it. Thus situated, it would have been most scandalous in him to have abandoned his friends, or even wholly to have withdrawn himself from them, and Burnet, though cautious, was far from deficient either in courage or warmth of heart. He boldly, therefore, continued his intercourse with them as long as he could, and obtained a special permission to attend on Lord Russel in the interval between the trial of that nobleman and the moment of his death, presently after which he was called before the Cabinet Council, and closely questioned on the matter of Russel's last words to the people, and the paper which he had delivered on the scaffold to the sheriffs, both which Burnet was suspected to have written. No further steps were then taken against him. He retired for a short time to Paris, and, returning to his studies, prepared for the press a "Translation and examination of a letter written by the last general assembly of the clergy of France to the Protestants, inviting them to return to their communion," &c. and also a "Translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia," which were this year published, as was in the following, his "Life of William Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore." At length he was dismissed from his lectureship of St. Clement's, and his office of preacher at the Rolls, by the express command of the King, whose death occurring very shortly after, he obtained leave, seemingly without difficulty, to quit the kingdom, immediately after the accession of James.

He now made at leisure the tour of the best part of France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, of which he printed two years after a lively and instructive narrative. At length he settled at the Hague, where it is scarcely necessary to say that he was most cordially received. He became immediately, as might be expected, a most active and important party in the consultations which were then daily held there preparatory to the execution of the Prince of Orange's design on the English Crown; and acquired so high a degree of favour and confidence with the Princess as to draw from her unfortunate father two very angry letters, together with a demand, through his ambassador, that Burnet should be forbade their court, which, as a mere matter of form, was complied with. His influence however remained there; and all the time that he could spare from personal correspondence with them and their friends was employed in writing pamphlets, which were abundantly dispersed in England, and reprinted together in 1689, with the title of "a Collection of eighteen Papers relating to the Affairs in Church and State during the Reign of King James the Second." Prosecutions for high treason were at length commenced against him both in England and Scotland, but the States refused to deliver him up; and plans, as he tells us, were afterwards laid to seize his person, or even to take his life. To secure himself against all endeavours to reclaim him by negotiation, or else as a measure of defiance, he procured letters of naturalisation there, and so became a Dutch subject, and having been now for some time a widower, married a lady of that country, Mary Scott, said to have been descended from the House of Buccleuch, whose ancestors had for several generations held public employments of consideration in the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

He attended William on his expedition to England in the character of his chaplain, and drew the most important documents which were issued on that occasion by the Prince, who appointed him to the see of Salisbury a very few days after he took possession of the Throne. At full liberty now to indulge publicly his

favourite notions of church doctrine and discipline, he became the strenuous advocate in Parliament for the almost unlimited toleration of Protestant dissenters of all sorts. His political whiggism however proved less fortunate; for having, in 1689, in his aversion even to that shadow of hereditary right which might seem to furnish a pretence to Mary's accession to the Throne, asserted in a "Pastoral Letter" to the clergy of his diocese on the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, that the title of the King and Queen were founded on conquest, the two Houses of Parliament ordered that the letter should be burned by the hangman, which was done accordingly. He lost however by this folly no favour at Court, nor was he less esteemed at Hanover by the electoral family, whose succession to the Crown of England he was appointed to propose in the House of Peers, and with whose illustrious heir, the Princess Sophia, he had the honour to hold a pretty regular epistolary correspondence till her death. In 1692, he printed a treatise intitled "The Pastoral Care:" in the following year "Four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese," on the truth of the Christian religion; on the divinity and death of Christ—on the infallibility and authority of the Church; and on the obligation to continue in its communion: and in 1695 an Essay on the character of his great patroness, Queen Mary, who died at the end of the preceding year. In 1698 he became again a widower, but was re-married with uncommon expedition. His third wife, whom he also survived, was a daughter of Sir Richard Blake, a Hampshire knight, and relict of Robert Berkley, of Spetchley, in Worcestershire.

In the same year William conferred on him the office of preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, the only survivor of the numerous issue of the Princess of Denmark, and presumptive heir to the Crown. This royal youth also, of whose qualifications the Bishop speaks with the greatest praise, died in little more than a year after. From this period he took scarcely any concern in public affairs, unless the great pains taken by him in procuring that application of the first-fruits and tenths to the augmentation

of poor benefices, which is commonly known by the denomination of "Queen Anne's bounty," may be so deemed. It is to his benevolent zeal that the clergy are indebted for the first suggestion, and subsequent prosecution and enactment, of that excellent measure. He retired to his diocese, and, having passed the remainder of his life there in the most exemplary performance of all the duties of a christian prelate, died on the seventeenth of March, 1714-15, and was buried in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, in London; leaving issue three sons, William, Gilbert, and Thomas, the first and third of whom were bred to the law, and the second to the church. We are not informed which of the Bishop's ladies was their mother, nor whether he had any other children.

Burnet wrote some small unimportant tracts, chiefly controversial, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate. His two great works, the History of the Reformation, and the History of his own Times, will, in spite of imperfections, ever stand high in the first order of English classics; the one for patient and diligent investigation, for clearness of arrangement, and rigour of proof; the other, for the astonishing number and variety of the facts which it discloses; and for a vivacity so bewitching as to beguile us with an illusion of the real presence of the persons and things described. That disposition perhaps contributed to betray him occasionally into the regions of invention, a fault which has already been unwillingly ascribed to him in the foregoing pages, and which is certainly, in a covert, but good-humoured strain, alluded to by the witty Marquis of Halifax, in a character, written in his lifetime, an extract from which ought, on all accounts, to be here inserted—"Dr. Burnet," says the Marquis, "is like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoken of in a mean—he must either be railed at or admired. He has a swiftness of imagination that no other comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of anything without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts but that at some time they may run away with him, as it is hard for a vessel that is

brimful when in motion not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small faults, or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse. He may in some things require grains of allowance which those only can deny him who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men's faults than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments."

Engraved by W.T. Mote

JOHN, FIRST LORD SOMERS.

OB. 1716.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS.

THE professional career of a lawyer, however eminent, is scarcely ever productive of many incidents likely to excite general interest, and the life of a statesman, subsequently to a certain period of our annals, is almost always shrouded in obscurity; while the incessant application of both to circumstances nearly infinite in variety as well as in number, in which their passions, their sentiments, and their tempers, are in a great measure either unconcerned or concealed, removes them almost wholly from the sphere of ordinary life, and leaves them, in the strict and simple sense of the phrase, without characters. It was in those two stations, and in them only, that this eminent person became highly distinguished; but the extent of his reading, the power of his eloquence, and the wisdom of his decrees, are forgotten, even by the heirs of those who profited or suffered by them, and it is remarkable that his biographers, and they were many, have given us very few particulars of them. As a statesman, we are but little better acquainted with him; for he was placed in that character by the revolution of 1688, an event which, amidst the stupendous benefits commonly ascribed to it, was peculiarly unfavourable to the future interests of history and biography, by substituting for the splendid merits, and the bold faults, of ministers of other days, the small dexterity of financial contrivance, and the innumerable frauds and meannesses which hide themselves in secrecy, and, when by chance detected, are seldom worth recording. Amidst those disadvantages, which have narrowed our view of his story, Lord Somers

lived, and, in spite of their evil influence, seems to have lived and died an honest man.

He was born on the fourth of March, 1652, and was the eldest, or perhaps only, son of John Somers, an attorney of reputation and large practice in the city of Worcester, by Catherine, daughter of a person of the name of Ceaverne, of the county of Salop. His father had been engaged in the rebellion, and actually commanded a troop in Cromwell's army, and doubtless from his early lessons his child imbibed that political bias which tinged, without soiling, the whole of his public conduct. He was sent early to what is called the College school, in his native town, and completed his education at Trinity College in Oxford, of which he was entered a gentleman commoner, and which he left with the highest reputation for polite, as well as for erudite, literature. Destined always by his father for the bar, he was now removed to the tuition of Sir Francis Winnington, soon after Solicitor General, and became a Student of the Middle Temple. Here genius seems to have superseded the necessity of labour. He wrote and published poems and pamphlets, and appeared to ordinary observers to have devoted himself to the varied occupation of a general author, while he was acquiring a degree of knowledge in his profession more extensive than is generally found to reward even the severest study. At this time too he lived much in the society of the most lively persons among the opponents of the Court, and was at length introduced to their graver leaders, the Lords Essex and Russell, and Algernon Sidney, who, finding in him a disposition to assist in the furtherance of their plans, joined to talents which could not but render him a most important acquisition to any party, flattered him by a close intimacy, and indeed by no small share of their confidence. Happily for him, however, a cool prudence for which he was always remarkable, restrained him from engaging too far with them; and those connections, which utterly ruined so many, were among the first steps towards his future great elevation.

The immediate effect of them was to invigorate his political

pen. He is said (for it is almost needless to observe that such works were published anonymously) to have written about this time "a brief History of the Succession of the Crown of England, collected out of Records," &c. intended as a collection of grounds of argument for the exclusion of James Duke of York; and, "a just and modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments;" in fact, an answer to the published declaration of Charles the Second of his reasons for dissolving them. We hear little of him at the bar till 1683, when he appeared in the court of King's Bench as advocate for the seditious sheriffs Pilkington and Shute, with many others, and gained a reputation which rose gradually till it was finally confirmed, and universally acknowledged, on the occasion of the trial, five years after, of the seven Bishops, in which, though the junior counsel, he is said to have far surpassed, not only in argument and eloquence but in legal learning, the whole host of long experienced lawyers to whom he was then joined. He was now admitted into the most secret councils of those who were at that time busily employed in forming the plan for that revolution which, six months after, they brought to maturity.

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, he was elected by his native city of Worcester to represent it in what was called the Convention Parliament, which appointed him one of its managers for the great conference between the two Houses on the means to be used for filling the vacant Throne. It is well known that this deliberation on the disposal of three kingdoms was almost wholly confined to a philological discussion of the meaning of two words. It was an apt theme for a display of the subtleties of legal, and the refinements of general, erudition, and Somers's treatment of it in each view has always been extolled as a model of perfection in its kind. He was now on the high road to certain exaltation, and with advantages of which few, if any, of his compeers in effecting the great change could fairly boast. He had abandoned no principles: he had sacrificed no friends: he had deserted no party: nor had he incurred even a suspicion of ingratitude, mean-

ness, fraud, or falsehood, in the whole of his political career. Thus recommended, not less than by his particular services, to a patron of cold and rigid integrity, as well as of solid judgment, he became, on the ninth of May 1689, Solicitor General; Attorney General on the second of the same month, in the year 1692; and, on the twenty-third of the succeeding March, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

From this date we may consider him as William's most confidential adviser, a character which he seems never in a single instance to have abused. His fidelity was rewarded accordingly. On the twenty-second of April, 1697, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor, and on the second of the following December, was created Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, in the county of Worcester. He remained not long in the lofty station to which he had been thus raised. The High Church party, as the friends to Monarchy and the enemies of the dissenting interest were then called, had long since recovered from the shock which they had received by the revolution; had availed themselves of the licence afforded to them by the doctrines on which it was founded, to make ample arrangements to the prejudice of the closely limited King, and his new government; and had at length established an opposition to them in Parliament of sufficient strength to enable them to institute the most vigorous attacks. Of these Somers, because not only the ablest but the most honest of William's advisers, and the Earl of Portland, because he was his personal favourite, were the chosen objects. In the Parliament which met in the end of the year 1698, and which was distinguished otherwise by a peculiar malevolence towards William, it was resolved in the Commons to make a strenuous effort for the dismissal of the Chancellor, and, on the tenth of April, 1700, on grounds so futile that no correct statement of them seems to have been preserved, an address to the King was proposed in that House, and negatived by a small majority, "to remove John, Lord Somers, from his presence and councils for ever." William, not less timid as a politician than bold in the field, prorogued the Parliament the

next day, and, retiring immediately to Hampton Court, under great anxiety, sent for the Chancellor, and desired him to resign; but Somers declined, alleging reasons wholly void of selfishness, and intreating the King to dissolve the Parliament, who, we are told, "shook his head, as a sign of his diffidence, and only said 'it must be so,'" and a few days after sent for the seals.

Not satisfied with this degree of triumph, and having found means to increase their party, the opposition in the Commons resolved in the succeeding session to hazard the question of an impeachment, during the agitation of which Somers requested to be heard there, and justified himself with equal candour and firmness. The impeachment however was voted, consisting of fourteen articles, seven of which referred to the negotiation with France in 1698, respecting the succession to the Crown of Spain, and known by the name of "the first Partition Treaty," in which it seems that the King had consulted no one but the Chancellor. The rest were wholly insignificant. Somers answered them seriatim, and they were sent up to the Lords, who, after repeated angry conferences on them with the lower House, wholly dismissed them.

The King died in the same year, and Lord Somers retired in some measure to private life. We find him however voting, and sometimes speaking, in Parliament, particularly in 1702, and the following year, when he took a very active part in the discussion of the bill to prevent occasional conformity; in 1706 he proposed a project for the union of England and Scotland to Queen Anne, who appointed him one of the managers of that great measure; and on the change of the administration in 1708, he returned to the Cabinet, accepting the high office of President of the Council, which he held till the dismissal of the Whigs two years after. From that period his health gradually declined, and with it the powers of his mind. Some of his latter years were passed in an almost total, but quiescent, absence of intellect, and on the twenty-sixth of April, 1716, he expired in a fit of apoplexy.

Lord Somers was a liberal and a judicious patron and encou-

rager of literature and literary men. Of the productions of his own pen a long list may be found in Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, which is not inserted here, because though it is pretty clear that some of those pieces were written by others, it is by no means easy to fix on those which were really his. It has been reported, but apparently on grounds wholly untenable, that he, and not Swift, was the author of "the Tale of a Tub." He was never married, but left two sisters, his coheirs, the eldest of whom, Mary, became the wife of Charles Cocks, and in a grandson of that marriage, Sir Charles Cocks, Bart., the Barony of Somers (since erected into an Earldom) was revived in the year 1784.

Engraved by J. Cochran

CHARLES TALBOT, DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

OB. 1718.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

London, Published Dec^r 1st 1806 by Harding & Wright, 24 Pall Mall East.

CHARLES TALBOT,

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

This very eminent nobleman, the only person who ever held his exalted title, seems to have been an object of the peculiar neglect, and it may be said injustice, both of his contemporaries and of their posterity. With fine talents, the strictest honour and public principle, and a sweet temper, constantly evinced in the most winning courtesy, he passed many years in the exercise of the highest offices in the State and the Court without popular applause, and without the declared approbation of those whose station and habits of life qualified them to form a just judgment of his merits. Not less careless of his posthumous fame have been the pietists and moralists. The youth whose time and attention from the age of nineteen to twenty-one was occupied in reconciling his conscience to one or the other of the two great rival modes of faith, and who afterwards, through the whole of his manhood, lived constantly in the practice of every domestic virtue, could establish no claim to celebration at their hands. How are we to account for this indifference? By what means can we discover the cause of this silence? Simply by referring to the facts that, though an English nobleman, always in high public station, he never condescended to become a political partisan, or a religious controversialist.

He was the eldest of the two surviving sons of Francis Talbot, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury of that truly noble house, by his second Countess, Anna Maria, daughter of Robert Brudenel,

second Earl of Cardigan. He was peculiarly unfortunate in both his parents, for his father was killed in a duel by the paramour of his mother, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham of that family. The wretched woman is said to have held the Duke's horse, in the disguise of a page, while he shed her husband's life-blood, and other circumstances are related of her conduct, immediately after the combat, too horrible and disgusting to be here repeated. The orphan Earl, who was born on the twenty-fourth of July, 1660, and received his Christian name from King Charles the Second, his sponsor, had not reached the age of seven years when the untimely death of his father occurred, and he was taken under the protection of his grandfather, the Earl of Cardigan, through whose fostering care he is said to have received a "learned education," and by whom he was brought up with strictness in the Catholic persuasion. It was doubtless by the advice, and with the countenance, of that nobleman, that in his early minority, he presented, in concert with his brother, a petition to the King, imploring justice on Buckingham, and "touching smartly" (to use the words of some almost contemporary meagre notices of the Talbots) "upon the Duke's scandalous behaviour, and bitterly complaining how, after having basely murdered their father, he continued to load the family with reproach, by an infamous detaining of their mother by violence, the successors to the honour and family of the Shrewsburys, being yet infants, and not able to do themselves justice on the person who had so notoriously injured them."

Whether this remonstrance produced any effect, the author leaves us uninformed, and it is probable that, through the indolence of Charles, and the fascination in which he was for several years of his reign held by the bewitching liveliness of Buckingham's talents, it was wholly fruitless. Be this as it might, the frightful events which we have slightly recited, operating on feelings of delicate texture, and a natural inclination to seriousness, seem to have impelled the young Earl to seek consolation in the bosom of religious truth. He had scarcely passed the nineteenth year of

his age when, without the smallest cloud of fanaticism on his mind, he calmly collected, with the aid of his grandfather, all the arguments that had been used by the most celebrated Catholic divines in defence of the doctrines and discipline of their church, and carried them to Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had lately become acquainted, requesting his answers to them. Tillotson, doubtless gratified by the prospect of such a proselyte, readily undertook the task, and furnished the Earl with the result, who, after long deliberation on all points of the Doctor's reasonings, and a thorough reconciliation of them to his own conscience, at the end of two years embraced the Protestant religion, and made a public profession of it in Lincoln's Inn chapel. Those eminent treatises against Popery which are to be found in Tillotson's printed works are said to comprise the matter of his communications to Lord Shrewsbury, even in the form in which he made them.

The period at which this recantation occurred affords in itself an ample proof of its sincerity. It was made in the very teeth of the Court, and of Royalty itself, for the King was supposed to be Catholic, and the heir presumptive was publicly professed; the Earl therefore could in no way more effectually have opposed his own interest, and this presently became evident, for he found himself slighted and avoided by those of his own rank, and openly vilified by the ordinary multitude of the Romish party. He retired therefore into privacy during the remainder of that reign, but was, singularly enough, invited to the Court, immediately on his accession, by James, who gave him one of the state swords to carry at the Coronation, and placed him soon after, contrary to the inclination both of the Court and ministry, in the dignified office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, which he presently resigned, giving him about the same time the command of the sixth regiment of Horse. It could not however be expected that the violent measures used in that short reign towards the re-establishment of the ancient church, should be endured with patience by one so peculiarly distinguished as a cherisher of the opposite persuasion.

The Earl was one of the first to offer his services to the Prince of Orange, and one of the first whom his Highness took into his especial confidence, and by whose advice he submitted to be chiefly guided. The meetings of the great leaders of the revolution were mostly held at his house; the Prince's declaration is said to have been drawn by him; and he was one of the first of the English nobility who presented himself personally to the Prince in Holland, with serious and digested proposals, having before his departure mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, which he carried to William.

It is just at this period that Bishop Burnet gives us the following short character of him, contrasting it to that of the Lord Mordaunt, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, one of his compeers in the great enterprise.—"Next year," says Burnet, "a man of a far different temper came over to the Prince, the Earl of Shrewsbury. He had been bred a Papist, but had quitted that religion upon a very critical and anxious inquiry into matters of controversy. He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour. He had no ordinary measure of learning; a correct judgment; and a sweetness of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time just notions of government, and so great a command of himself, that I never heard any one complain of him, but for his silent and reserved answers, with which his friends were not always well pleased. His modest deportment gave him such an interest in the Prince that he never seemed so fond of any of his ministers as he was of him. He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the Prince, without pressing him too much." In this visit, however, all the most material arrangements for William's coming were settled, and Shrewsbury arrived in England in September, 1688, with full powers from him to conclude with his friends on all inferior particulars. Within a few days after his landing, he commissioned the Earl, with two others, to treat with some noblemen, sent for that purpose by the forlorn James; after whose abdication, and final departure, William also chose him, and a very few others, to learn

from the leaders of the revolution, the terms on which it was intended to offer to him the vacant throne, and to declare to them those on which he would accept it.

On the day following the accession of William and Mary he was sworn of their Privy Council, and appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. "He had," says Burnet again, "the greatest share of the King's confidence, and no exception could be made to the choice, except on account of his youth; but he applied himself to business with great diligence, and maintained his candour and temper with more reservedness than was expected from one of his age." In spite however of these, and other advantages, disputes presently arose between him and his brother Secretary, the Earl of Nottingham, particularly regarding the bills of indemnity for the late King's friends and servants, and for an abjuration of James himself, both which were the subjects of much debate in the first session of the second Parliament of the reign. Nottingham opposed the last with earnestness, and even prevailed on the King to use his personal influence against it in the House of Commons, and Shrewsbury tendered his resignation to William, who refused to accept it, but the Earl, though usually compliant and indecisive, was determined to quit the post. The curious correspondence between them on this point has been of late years published, and shows us that Shrewsbury, in stating his motives, makes no complaints but of himself. "Diligence and industry," says he in a letter of the sixth of September, 1689, pressing the King to allow him to retire, "are talents that naturally I never had, and I have now more reason than ever to despair of attaining, since ill health, as well as a lazy temper, join to oppose it." William wrote to him on the following day, still refusing to part with him, and the rest of the year passed in a large interchange of such letters, the Earl reiterating his request to resign, and the King denying. They are singularly remarkable for a freedom and familiarity of expression, of which perhaps no parallel instance can be found in epistles between prince and subject. At length, in the following June, the agitation of Shrewsbury's mind upon

this point threw him into a violent fever, and he sent the seals by the Earl of Portland to the King, who most unwillingly retained them.

William was careful to give a public proof that this retirement from office of his favoured servant arose not from any feeling of royal displeasure, for, in the hour, as it were, of his resignation, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Hertford, Worcester, and Hereford. He now retreated for a time to private life, and it seems to have been in this interval that he received grievous injuries by a fall from his horse, which deprived him of the sight of an eye, and produced an asthmatic affection that gradually increased for many years, and finally undermined his constitution, which however was in some measure restored from time to time by medicine and good management. In 1693, the King dismissed the Earl of Nottingham, and immediately sent for Shrewsbury, and pressed him, but again in vain, to accept his former station. The Earl peremptorily refused, and returned into the country, when William condescended to endeavour to regain him by artifice, and employed two ladies, Mrs. Villiers, afterwards Countess of Orkney, who was reputed to be a favourite of his own, and a Mrs. Lundee, who was said to possess influence over the Earl. These powerful negotiators were successful; Shrewsbury was again sworn a principal Secretary of State, on the fourth of March, 1693-4, and, in reward of his tardy compliance, was on the twenty-fifth of April elected a Knight of the Garter, and, on the thirtieth, advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Alton, and Duke of Shrewsbury. About the same time, the Lieutenancies of the counties of Anglesea, Flint, and Merioneth, were added to the local jurisdictions before intrusted to his charge.

The singularities of which we have here spoken, as well in the conduct of William as in that of Shrewsbury, are not to be attributed to any of the motives by which the intercourse of kings and statesmen are usually actuated. Here all was frankness and sincerity, the result of private friendship, and of the purest public principles, equally mutual. Numerous attempts were now made

to alienate the King's attachment from him, but it was invincible. The meanest stratagems, and artifices not less absurd than wicked, were used. A creature of Sir John Fenwick, then a prisoner, charged with high treason, who had affected to make discoveries at the Duke's office, on being slighted there, turned upon him, and in 1696 insinuated to some noblemen that he was a party to the conspiracy; and Fenwick himself, in the hope of saving his own life, conveyed to the Duke of Devonshire that Shrewsbury was in correspondence with the exiled King, through Lord Middleton, and had been allowed by James to re-accept the post of Secretary, as he would be of more service to that Prince's affairs in that station. The first intelligence which Shrewsbury had of these machinations was by a letter from William himself, in which, with expressions of equal kindness and magnanimity, he declared his utter disbelief of the whole, nor would he for a moment listen to the Duke's request, renewed on this occasion, to be allowed to quit the ministry. In May, 1699, however, upon some disgust conceived against the Earl of Portland, who was his only rival in the King's personal favour, and the Earl of Halifax, for the large share taken by that nobleman in the invention and establishment of the public funds, a scheme which the Duke had, from its earliest infancy, most earnestly deprecated and opposed, he did resign his office of Secretary, his physician having assured the King that the state of his health necessarily required the relaxations of leisure, and foreign travel. William, to prove that his esteem for him was yet wholly unimpaired, and that Shrewsbury left the Cabinet solely by his own choice, now appointed him Lord Chamberlain, which he relinquished in the succeeding year, and, leaving England, after a long tour, settled at Rome, where he married Adelaide, a widow, daughter of the Marquis Paliotti, a Bolognese nobleman.

He remained abroad for six years. William died during his absence, but he was received by Queen Anne on his return with scarcely diminished grace, sworn of her Privy Council, and, on the fifteenth of April, 1710, restored to his post of Lord Chamber-

lain. The more violent whigs ascribed this mark of favour to his secret abandonment of their party, to which indeed he had always moderately inclined, and were confirmed in that opinion by his votes on Sacheverell's trial, which were uniformly opposed to them. Marlborough and Godolphin however, who knew, and could not but respect, his independence, thought otherwise; strove to remove those jealousies; and lived in friendship with him, as they did after their disgrace, when, with the same unblemished reputation, he generally supported the administration of Harley. In December, 1712, upon the violent death of the Duke of Hamilton, he was appointed Ambassador to the court of France, to conclude the negotiation for a peace, and had scarcely returned when he was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. There, as almost always in his public life, his strict impartiality excited at once respect and disgust, and no party could deny that he rendered important service to that country, while he performed his duty to the Queen irreproachably. When he returned he found Anne in the arms of death, accelerated by the furious feuds between the leaders of her ministry, Oxford and Bolingbroke. She sent hastily for him; put into his hands the staff of Lord High Treasurer; and soon after expired.

On the accession then of George the First, he was at once Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain, and Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, three great appointments never, before nor since, held by one person at the same time. He was now nominated one of the Lords to govern the kingdom till his Majesty's arrival; after which, on the twentieth of September, 1714, he was made Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy Purse, and was, on the seventeenth of the succeeding October, once more placed in the office of Lord Chamberlain, which shortly before his death he resigned.

This great nobleman expired on the first of February, 1717-18, without issue; his titles therefore of Duke and Marquis became extinct, and the Earldom of Shrewsbury devolved on a distant branch of the family.

Engraved by H.T Ryall

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

OB. 1722

FROM THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

London Published Dec.r 1, 1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

JOHN CHURCHILL,

FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

THE history of this eminent person was for more than fifty years after his death almost wholly confined to the splendid details of a career of military glory, not more distinguished by sagacity and bravery than by the most surprising good fortune. The curious industry however of later days has discovered facts, and disclosed secrets, which it might be almost wished had still slept silently in the obscure recesses from which they were drawn. It is the duty of the biographer to state the whole with candour, impartiality and freedom. It is at least his privilege to search for causes and motives; to argue on them, and on their results; and to declare his conclusions and opinions fearlessly and honestly. It is on these principles that he means to conduct the following memoir, as well as to found its pretensions to credit.

John, Duke of Marlborough, was the second-born son, but by the death of his elder brother Winston in infancy, heir, of Sir Winston Churchill, a gentleman descended from an ancient Norman stock settled in the West of England, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake, of Ash, in the parish of Musbury, in Devonshire. He was born there on the twenty-fourth of June, 1650. His father, who was a zealous loyalist, and had fought gallantly, and suffered severely, for the royal cause, removed with his family to London soon after the Restoration, to seek some reward. Here John is said to have been placed at St. Paul's school, where he could have remained but a short time, since it

is certain that the Duke of York appointed him at a very tender age one of his pages, and procured for him soon after an ensign's commission in one of the regiments of foot guards. His sister, Arabella, was received also into the same royal household in the character of a maid of honour to the Duchess, and appeared soon after in that of mistress to the Duke. In what degree the partiality already manifested towards him by James was increased by that circumstance may be easily conceived.

Passing over his appearance as a volunteer, for such it seems he was at Tangier, which the Moors then held in continual siege, it may be said that his first military service was in 1672, when England, then leagued with France against the Dutch, sent a force of six thousand men to Holland under the Duke of Monmouth. Here, in the rank of a captain of grenadiers, he displayed, particularly in the sieges of Nimeguen and Maestricht, the most signal bravery; acquired the personal regard of the great Turenne; and received the thanks of Louis the Fourteenth, together with that monarch's peculiar recommendation of him to his own sovereign. The second campaign in Holland having ended, the English regiments which were still left at the disposal of the King of France marched with the French army against the Imperialists, and Louis, in the spring of 1674, nominated Churchill colonel of one of them. During this period of foreign service the Duke of York appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and master of the robes. He corresponded constantly with that prince; frequently visited England, for the sole purpose of attending to his affairs; and had insensibly acquired, together with no small share of personal regard, his entire confidence.

In 1678 he married Sarah, second daughter and coheir of Richard Jennings, of Sandbridge, in Hertfordshire. This lady is mentioned thus early in the present sketch because so much of her husband's political conduct may be referred to the peculiarities of her understanding and temper, that we must necessarily take her with us as an occasional guide to the truth. He now obtained a regiment of infantry, and was sent, on a temporary breach between

Charles and Louis, to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Prince of Orange against the French, which was soon after rendered abortive by a general peace. He returned to his domestic and confidential attendance on James, whom he constantly accompanied in the various wanderings to which that prince was compelled by the rage of faction towards the conclusion of his brother's reign. He became the medium of their most secret and important correspondence, not only with each other, but with the King of France, to whom he was occasionally despatched on missions of the utmost privacy and delicacy. These services were rewarded by a grant, in 1683, of the title of Lord Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, to which was added the commission of colonel of a regiment of horse guards, then newly raised. His wife, who had been selected in her childhood as the familiar companion of the Princess Anne, and was beloved by her with a tenderness even extravagant, was about the same time, when that princess's establishment was settled, on her marriage with the Prince of Denmark, appointed a lady of her bedchamber.

In the following year, his royal patron mounted the throne; sent him ambassador to Paris to notify that event; and on his return elevated him to an English peerage, with the style of Baron Churchill of Sandridge. Monmouth's feeble rebellion, which immediately followed, produced new proofs of his military merit. By the rapid and judicious movements of a squadron intrusted to his command he prevented thousands from joining the standard of the Duke, whom he then forced prematurely to the general action at Sedgemoor, in which he highly distinguished himself, as he had on the preceding day by disconcerting a plan of the enemy to throw the King's army into disorder. It is strange that he should have received no higher reward for these services than the rank of major-general, and the complimentary transfer of his colonelcy to an older corps of horse guards; and yet more remarkable that he should have been placed in no distinguished office, either in the state or court, during the reign, short as it was, of a master whose partiality towards him seemed

to extend almost to favouritism. James probably considered his talents applicable merely to military service, in which no future opportunity offered of employing them; Churchill doubtless thought otherwise; and hence perhaps imbibed sentiments of disgust and anger, to which in some measure may be reasonably referred that heavy charge on his conduct to which we shall next advert.

On the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was among the first who abandoned James; nor was this the half unwilling step of one at length driven by necessity to determine which of two parties contending for a crown was the most justly entitled to his allegiance. He had been long engaged in a secret intercourse with William. Eighteen months before, a period at which James's confidence in him was at its height, he had written to the Prince to offer, in indirect terms, the meaning however of which was evident, not only his own services, but those of the Princess Anne of Denmark, under whose authority he professes to make the communication. The avowed motive, on his own part as well as on hers, was an earnest devotion to the protestant church. Of Anne's sincerity in this respect there is perhaps no reason to doubt, but that Churchill, bred a courtier and a soldier of fortune, should have been decided on the greatest of all political questions, not by any fear of interruption to his own practice of that mode of faith which he might prefer, for of that he knew there could be no danger, but by his dread that the nation might relapse into popery, is indeed somewhat difficult of belief. The simple truth, it can scarcely be doubted, however reluctantly we may believe it, is that he foresaw the ruin which overhung his sovereign, and determined not to share in the peril of its fall, but to triple his views of preferment by adding the good graces of William and Mary to those of Anne, which he already possessed in the utmost plenitude. The flight also of that Princess from her father is ascribed to the persuasions of himself and his lady, and the charge of ingratitude and treachery too justly founded on the whole, has been of late years aggravated by

reports which, as they seem too horrible to deserve credit, I will not here repeat. They may be found in the first volume of Macpherson's "Original Papers."

One of the last acts of James's royal authority in England was to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-general, and to give him the command of a brigade in the army which was hastily marched into the west to oppose the invaders; and Churchill's first act after his arrival at the royal quarters was to join the Prince of Orange, with as many of the officers of that brigade as he could persuade to accompany him. His activity in the service of his new master was remarkable. He flew to London, to secure his own troop of horse-guards, and other military that remained in that quarter; returned with the news of his success to William; and attended his triumphant entry into the metropolis. Here however he paused; and when the question was agitated in the Convention Parliament whether the throne had become vacant by the flight of the King, absented himself with all due decorum from the discussion, as though, in the simplicity of his heart, he had never till then dreamed of that Prince's expulsion, or of William's design to succeed him. That point being settled, he again became busy, and, in concert with his wife, persuaded their patroness, Anne, to relinquish her presumptive right, and content herself with the chance of obtaining the crown by outliving the Prince of Orange. Immediately on the accession of William and Mary he was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed a lord of the bedchamber; and created Earl of Marlborough.

The new reign had scarcely commenced when the King and Queen disagreed with the Princess Anne on the amount of the revenue to be granted to her, and the usual artifices of party were exerted to effect, as in the end they did, an irreparable breach. Marlborough appeared openly at the head of those who supported the Princess's claim, and William was more displeased than his phlegmatic temper usually allowed. That disposition however enabled him to dissemble. He wanted English generals, and had too high an opinion of Marlborough's military talents to

break with him at that time. He was sent therefore to command the English forces then serving against the French in the Netherlands, where he acquitted himself with great credit in the campaign of 1689, and soon after his return, embarked for Ireland, at the head of five thousand men, and achieved, with equal bravery and discretion, the most of that which William had left undone towards the final discomfiture of James's adherents in that island, after the battle of the Boyne. While these matters were passing, and during his absence in Holland, whither he attended the King in May, 1691, the discord between the royal sisters arose to the most extravagant height. It was imputed in a great measure to Marlborough and his lady; and this suspicion, aided by the resentment of the Dutch favourite, Portland, whom it was their custom to abuse and ridicule without mercy, so aggravated William's former displeasure, that on the tenth of January, 1692, he suddenly required from the Earl the surrender of all his employments, civil and military, and forbade his appearance at court. Such is the account given by the memoir writers of that time of the motives to Marlborough's dismissal, but it has been rendered doubtful by certain late disclosures. Prodigious as it may seem, he was at that time in close and confidential correspondence with the court of St. Germain; and had professed to the exiled King the deepest penitence for the part which he had acted, and the most determined resolution (to use the words of the late publication of James's memoirs of his own latter years) "to redeem his apostacy with the hazard of his utter ruin," by using his most strenuous efforts to replace that Prince on the throne. How much more reasonable then to suppose that Marlborough's sudden disgrace arose from William's discovery of this intercourse, than to ascribe it to the quarrels of women, and the malicious gossip of tea-tables? nor indeed can the fact be doubted when we find that on the fifth of the following May he was arrested on a charge of high-treason; that, though the instant discovery of the infamous character of his accusers screened him from a public prosecution, yet that he was detained

a prisoner in the Tower for many weeks after some other persons of quality who had been involved in the accusation were released; and that immediately on his being admitted to bail, his name was struck out of the list of the Privy Council.

He remained for the next five years unemployed, except in cultivating to his utmost the favour at once of the Princess Anne, and of her royal father. Efforts however were not wanting to replace him in the public service, though his friends seem to have entertained little hope of restoring him to William's confidence. That they were fully conscious of that Prince's knowledge of his tergiversations, is evident. The Duke of Shrewsbury, then secretary of State, in a letter of the twenty-second of May, 1694, recommends him strongly to William—"He has been with me," says the Duke, "to offer his services, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion on this subject will signify but little, since I very well remember, when your Majesty discoursed with me upon it in the spring, you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness; but some points remained of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your Majesty is the only judge. If these could be accommodated to your Majesty's satisfaction, I cannot but think he is capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest," adds the Duke, with a severity certainly unintended, "to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it." William, in answer to this part of Shrewsbury's letter, says—"in regard to what you wrote in your last concerning Lord Marlborough, I can say no more than that I do not think it for the good of my service to intrust the command of my troops to him." It is most singular that the only observation which Marlborough's late voluminous and acute biographer makes on these letters is, that "they throw no light on the causes of the King's displeasure."

On the fourth of May, 1694, in the very hour when, as we have just now seen, he was laying at William's feet his expressions of the utmost "duty and fidelity," he wrote to James to apprise

him of the sailing from Portsmouth of a force designed to destroy the French fleet in the harbour of Brest. His intercourse with that Prince and his ministers was now unremitted. At length, in the summer of 1696, the apprehension of Sir John Fenwick, a party in the plot to assassinate William, which had been discovered a few months before, produced a direct charge against him. Fenwick, in the hope of saving his own life, accused Marlborough of various transactions, all tending to forward the restoration of James, and particularly of having engaged to secure to that end the army, of which Shrewsbury, who was also then impeached by Fenwick, had solicited the command for him even while the plot was approaching to maturity. Fenwick however was ruined by the plan which he had formed for his defence. The persons whom he had associated with Marlborough in these charges of treason were so numerous, and so eminent, that William durst not proceed against any. Both Houses of Parliament voted the allegations contained in the documents which Fenwick had produced to be false and scandalous, and the Peers, after hearing the exculpatory speeches of Marlborough, and some of the nobles implicated with him, declared themselves satisfied with the justification which had been offered to them. It will seem strange that the King should have chosen this moment to receive his long rejected services. William however, without a single friend among the eminent men of the country; uncertain of the sincere allegiance of any; pressed by the little party headed by Anne, to whom since the late death of his Queen he had, at least in appearance, become reconciled; named Marlborough, even before the tumult raised by the late inquiry had fully subsided, to the important appointment of governor to the young Duke of Gloucester, presumptive heir to the crown. Nor was this all: he was restored also to his seat in the Privy Council, and to his former military rank and command.

He had, however, acquired William's countenance without gaining his favour. His loyalty was at least strongly suspected, and he balanced his political conduct in public with so much

caution between the interests and inclinations of the King and those of the Princess of Denmark as to render himself nearly useless in Council or Parliament to either. Meanwhile he could not conceal his bias towards Anne, whom William regarded with more than the usual dislike bestowed on a successor. It was perhaps as much for the sake of detaching him from her service as with the view of employing his talents in the way which best suited them, that the King took Marlborough with him to Holland in the summer of 1701 ; appointed him to command the forces in the Netherlands; and invested him with the most extensive powers for the management of the various negotiations preparatory to the grand confederacy then organizing against France. He conducted these treaties through all the mazes of peculiarly jarring interests with a sagacity and address which at once conferred on him the character of a profound diplomatist, and was returning to apply those talents to domestic politics, when William, taking advantage of his absence, dismissed the Tory administration headed by Lord Godolphin, his bosom friend, and partner in his most secret Jacobite intrigues. The mortification which he felt from this step was severe but transient. It was terminated four months after by the death of the King, on the eighth of March, 1702, and the accession of Anne opened to Marlborough a career of glory abroad, and of power at home, seldom paralleled in the history of any subject, in any age.

Her first care was to distinguish him. On the third day after she mounted the throne she gave him the Garter, and on the fourth appointed him Commander in Chief of her Armies, and presently after Master General of the Ordnance. The government of affairs at home was again committed to his friends, under Godolphin, who, rather from deficiency of spirit than of wisdom, appears to have been held by him in utter subservience. The warlike policy of William was adopted, and Marlborough went in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Hague, to encourage the Allies, whom the King's death had somewhat dispirited, and indeed to propose an instant declaration of war,

which speedily followed. The Prince of Denmark, building on his natural rank, and yet more on the importance derived from his matrimonial alliance with Anne, the head of the confederation, aspired to the command in chief of the great body of troops now put into motion by so many states, and Marlborough, after having with a pardonable affectation of zeal contended for a while for the Prince's pretensions, received himself the splendid appointment of Generalissimo.

It is needless to offer any apology for the slightness with which the numerous and glorious events of the succeeding war must be here traced. The successes of the first year consisted in the reduction of the important fortresses of Venlo, Ruremonde, and Stevenswaert, with their dependencies, on the Meuse, and, finally, of the city of Liege; but, above all, in the constant vigilance, the alternate boldness and caution, rest and action, promptness and delay, of the commander, each always rightly placed, through which the enemy were baffled in every feature of the campaign, without the hazard to the Allies of a single action in the field. The Queen and the nation justly appreciated his conduct, and on his return he received the dignities of Duke of Marlborough, and Marquis of Blandford, by a patent, of the fourteenth of December, 1702.

Early in the following spring he returned to the Continent, where Louis, smarting under his late disappointments, had augmented his armies; changed his commanders; and resolved to prosecute a vigorous offensive war on every side. Portugal had now joined the Allies, and Bavaria had declared for France. Marlborough began by reducing Bonn, the residence of the Elector of Cologne, and, after having been twice prevented by the obstinacy and folly of the Dutch generals from executing an important attack on Antwerp and Ostend, returned to the Meuse, and made himself master of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder. It was now that his intimacy commenced with Prince Eugene of Savoy, a consummate Imperialist general, with whom he laid the plan for the ensuing glorious campaign, and determined to penetrate into the heart of

Germany, where the Emperor's affairs were on the point of ruin. He marched accordingly to the Danube with astonishing celerity, and, having defeated in a signal action at Donawerth the Bavarian forces, to which a large division of the French troops was united, and desolated the Elector's country even to the walls of his capital, crossed the river, and with great difficulty and peril effected a junction with Eugene. His victory over the main army of the enemy at Blenheim, the most splendid, with one exception, of all modern conquests, almost immediately followed. The remains of the French and Bavarian armies were now forced to take refuge within the frontiers of France, and Germany was left open to the march of the Allies from the Danube to the Rhine, which they crossed, and occupied Alsace. The surrender of the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach concluded this memorable campaign, and the Emperor testified his gratitude to the victor by creating him a Prince of the Empire, to which dignity was annexed in the succeeding year the grant of an extensive domain.

The next was little less glorious. The remarkable enterprise in which Marlborough forced the French lines at Tirlemont was followed soon after by his victory at Ramillies, second only to the triumph of Blenheim; and by the consequent surrender of Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, and indeed the whole of Brabant. Even the strong fortresses of Antwerp, Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and others, fell almost without resistance. The Emperor now earnestly pressed him to accept a commission for the government of the Netherlands, thus subdued by him, which the jealousy of the Dutch obliged him to refuse. He retired for a while from these glorious labours, not to repose, but to improve by his counsel the plans, and to aid by his influence the prosecution, of the less fortunate war in Italy and Spain.

He passed the year 1707 in negociations for a treaty with France, or rather in avoiding the latent dangers of certain propositions for a peace insidiously offered by that power; in endeavouring to gain Charles the Twelfth of Sweden to the interests of the Allies; and in forming plans to disconcert the

measures which the French were secretly taking to redeem their late losses in Brabant and Flanders. Among the features of the latter design one of the most important was the defence of Oudenarde, a strong fortress on the Scheldt. The enemy, on their way towards it, had surprised Ghent and Bruges, and were threatening Brussels, when Marlborough, in an attack wholly unexpected, after one of the most rapid marches recorded in military annals, won the battle that took its name from the important post which was the object of their meditated attack. The Elector of Bavaria however still lay before Brussels with a formidable force, and the Duke, determined at all hazards to save that city, forced the passage of the river with a noble gallantry, and put to flight the French and Bavarian army which was encamped on the opposite bank. In the meantime he besieged Lille, which held out with an obstinacy of which the whole war had presented no other instance, and at length entered it in the sight of that army, which had again come down purposely to relieve it, and to which he had in vain offered battle even during the siege. This exploit was followed by the surrender of the strong posts taken by the enemy on the Scheldt, which the Duke now repassed, relieved Brussels, and retook Ghent after the beginning of a severe winter.

He commenced the campaign of 1709 with the reduction of Tournay, and then sat down before Mons, in the neighbourhood of which city the enemy lay encamped behind works of uncommon extent and strength. These he forced; won the battle of Malplaquet; and Mons, dearly purchased by that furious and sanguinary victory, presently after surrendered. The severe loss sustained on both sides arrested for the small remainder of the season all further active operations. The French army, separated into several divisions, retired to protect the few posts which they still held in Flanders; and Marlborough having disposed his forces for the ensuing winter, met Eugene at the Hague to consult on the whole system of the widely extended war. Among the results of their deliberations was a plan for the simultaneous

invasion of France in several quarters, which was rendered abortive by the selfishness and jealousy of some of the allied powers: in the meantime conferences were again held for settling the preliminaries of a treaty of peace, and broken up by the refusal of Louis to submit to the conditions suggested as to Spain. Marlborough's campaign of 1710 was confined to the French frontier, where, having passed the enemy's lines with exquisite skill, he invested Douay, which surrendered after a siege of six weeks. This acquisition was followed by the reduction of Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant. The operations of the year, rather successful than glorious, were influenced perhaps by those political disorders at home which will be presently mentioned, and which so powerfully affected Marlborough's mind that he now solicited of the Emperor the government, which he had formerly declined, of the Netherlands, as an asylum to which it might be convenient to him to retire from the possible effects of party rage. His request was evaded in terms that amounted to a refusal. The following year closed his services, and, though distinguished by no individual acquisition but the capture of Bouchain, produced perhaps the most remarkable proofs of his refined military skill, in a series of manœuvres by which he completely deceived the most celebrated French commander of his time, and accomplished his purpose of besieging that important fortress.

The Duke of Marlborough's political history, the outlines of which, for the sake of perspicuity I have divided from the foregoing sketch of his military life, may be said to have commenced with his appointment to the supreme command of the allied army. Nature had formed him for a soldier, and circumstances made him a statesman. Impelled by the masculine spirit and restless ambition of the Duchess, and tempted by the visions of unlimited power and wealth which the Queen's implicit submission to her will, and his consciousness of his own influence over the chief minister Godophin, had opened to his view, he who displayed in the field the most undaunted courage, and the firmest decision, condescended to become at home a timid politician and a doubting

counsellor. It may be questioned whether he was in his heart attached to any party, and, though his early habits inclined him to the Tories, yet he might be said rather to countenance than to act with them; but this seeming lukewarmth may perhaps be ascribed to the Duchess's affection to the Whigs, for he seldom directly opposed her inclinations, at least seldom with her knowledge.

Thus situated, he was entrusted by Anne on her accession to form, in concert with Godolphin, a Tory administration, and, having completed that arrangement, immediately sailed to Holland on his first campaign in the character of Generalissimo. To the Dukedom which was conferred on him at his return was annexed the grant of a pension from the revenue of the post-office of five thousand pounds, and it was proposed that it should be continued to his descendants, bearing the title, but this was strongly opposed in the Commons; and the Queen, at Marlborough's request, withdrew the message by which she had recommended it to the House, and softened the disappointment by the gift of an additional annuity of two thousand, out of her privy purse. He returned this kindness by the most strenuous efforts to procure a superb establishment for the Prince of Denmark, and Anne attributed the success of the bill to that effect, which passed the House of Peers by a majority of a single vote, to the exertions of himself and the Duchess; nor was he less active in favour of the bill for Occasional Conformity, a measure which she had entirely at heart. The experience of parties in this first session after his appearance on the theatre of the state cost him more solicitude, if we may judge by his subsequent letters from the Continent, than the affairs of a campaign: the next produced embarrassments more vexatious. The Tories, even the ministers themselves, divided into two rancorous factions, one of which, headed by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, incessantly inveighed against the war; the continental connections which Marlborough had formed to support it; and, by an easy transition, against the conduct of the General, whom they accused of prolonging it for his private advantage. Meanwhile the Duchess, taking advantage of these

disorders in a party which she detested, vainly assailed him with incessant importunities to coalesce with the Whigs—a union which the Queen as earnestly deprecated. Amidst this various contention the Duke returned for a few weeks from the army, and, at his request, Robert Harley, whom he had long patronised, was appointed to succeed Nottingham as Secretary of State, and Henry St. John, then introduced by Harley, was made Secretary at War. The Duchess, even in the hour of their promotion, described the characters of these men to her husband, and prognosticated the return which they would make for his distinction of them with a sagacious correctness.

The unparalleled success of his military services, even the stupendous victory of Blenheim, worked no change in the disposition of parties towards him. He became miserable in the midst of his glories. "I will endeavour," says he, in a letter from Germany to the Duchess, of the twentieth of October, 1704, "to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of Whig and Tory;" and in another, about the same time—"I shall serve the Queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives, if I had them; but while I live I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army;" yet immediately after, in compliance with the Duchess's importunities, he procured the dismissal of the Duke of Buckingham from the custody of the Privy Seal, and the appointment of the Duke of Newcastle as his successor. He soon after returned from his splendid campaign, with the Commander in Chief of the French army a prisoner in his train, and the clamours of faction were for a while unheard amidst the honest acclamations of a people who always judge rightly when they are left to themselves. This interval however was short, and the ministry was soon after so furiously attacked by the most discontented and rapacious of both parties, that Godolphin became alarmed; joined his arguments and entreaties to those of the Duchess; and Marlborough at length consented that some of the Whig leaders should be admitted into the

government; confident at least of their support in the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Queen, to whom this change was odious, struggled hard to retain Sir Nathan Wright in the office of Lord Keeper, but was at length compelled to place the great seal in the hands of Cowper, and in the intemperance, not to say insolence, with which the Duchess of Marlborough urged her mistress on this point, and to obtain, as at length she did, the office of Secretary of State for her son-in-law, Sunderland, we discern the first symptoms of the decrease of that implicit compliance with her imperious will to which Anne had for so many years submitted. Her husband, in a blind obedience to his affection for her, seldom failed to second her views and entreaties, and sunk with her, though less rapidly, in the Queen's esteem; while Harley and St. John availed themselves of the influence of another female, whose favour with Anne secretly advanced in proportion to the decline of that of the Duchess, to work their way to power by indirectly thwarting the measures of their great patron, and his friend the Treasurer.

Marlborough however, on his return from the Continent in the autumn of 1706, received not only the cordial thanks of both Houses, but, having lost his only son, an enlarged settlement by the crown of his titles on his four daughters, in succession, and their male issue, and a grant by act of parliament annexing to the title of Duke of Marlborough in all his descendants the manor of Woodstock, and House of Blenheim, built for him at the public charge, together with the pension of five thousand pounds, the entail of which, as has been already observed, was formerly denied to him. Anxious to impress on the Whigs a confidence in his zeal for the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, he espoused with apparent warmth the great and successful project for the Union with Scotland, and returned to his command with vain hopes that he had left a government somewhat settled. He had scarcely however departed when a feud arose between the Queen and her Whig ministers on the disposal of church preferments, and the tenacity with which she

asserted her prerogative was ascribed by them to the advice of Marlborough and Godolphin, who had in fact exerted themselves to the utmost to induce her to concede. To this vexation was soon after added the clearest proofs that Mrs. Masham, the female lately alluded to, had not only supplanted the Duchess, by whom she had been rescued from poverty, and provided for in the Court, but that she had become the instrument of communication between the Queen and Mr. Harley, who now evidently aspired to the chief direction of affairs. Marlborough, shortly after his arrival in England in November 1708, and the Treasurer, having used every other instance to persuade Anne to dismiss him, wrote to her to declare plainly that they would no longer serve with him, and accordingly declined to attend at the next meeting of the Cabinet Council. They had prepared, though most unwillingly, to resign, when Harley, finding his interest in Parliament not yet sufficiently ripe to support his pretensions, as unwillingly retired together with St. John, and a few other dependants.

Marlborough and the Treasurer gained little by these changes. The advantage which they obtained by supplying from the Whigs the offices thus vacated was at least counterbalanced by the increased mortification and resentment of the Queen, arising as much from the admission of new members of that party which was so hateful to her, as from having seen her confidential minister removed in a manner by force. The Whigs, on their part, were still dissatisfied, and she was obliged further to sacrifice her prejudices by committing the Privy Seal to Somers, and the Admiralty to Oxford. She ascribed these repeated vexations chiefly to the Duchess, and their intercourse was now invariably marked by bold reproaches on the one side, and a sullen reserve on the other, equally unbecoming to the station of each. It was soon after closed for ever, but not till Marlborough had submitted to make personally the most humiliating efforts to restore her to favour, or what was worse, to persuade the Queen to let her retain her appointments without it. His entreaties were unsuccessful. Resolved, or rather compelled by the Duchess, to retire with her

from all political concerns, but anxious, as his enemies alleged, to retain the profits of his military station, he now compromised his dignity by earnestly soliciting of Anne a grant of his appointments of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, for his life, and was refused. Enraged by these denials, and little less by the Queen's disposal of certain military promotions against his express advice, he retired suddenly into the country, and formed there a resolution to insist on the dismissal of Mrs. Masham as the only condition on which he could continue to command the army; but the pusillanimity of Godolphin, and the conflicting opinions of the Whig leaders in the ministry, whose advice he had requested, induced him to relinquish this spirited determination.

During this interval Harley, deriving advantage from the leisure afforded by his disengagement from office, planned, with the concurrence of the Queen, a new administration. As their arrangements proceeded, some distinguished Tories were appointed one by one to places in the court and state, without consulting the Treasurer, and sometimes even without his previous expectation. Various insults were vainly offered to provoke him to resign, and the Queen was at last obliged to send peremptorily to him for his staff. To dispose of Marlborough, shielded as he was by the glory which he had acquired, by the hope of his future services, and by solicitations, not only at home but by foreign powers, to retain his command, was more difficult. He, like Godolphin, was assailed by the most bitter affronts. On his return from the campaign of 1710, Anne, at his first audience, warned him to prevent his friends from moving the parliamentary vote of thanks which he had so long been accustomed to receive, for, said she, "my ministers will certainly oppose it." Three general officers were cashiered merely for toasting "his health, and confusion to his enemies." A host of political writers, from Swift, and St. John, and Prior, down to the vilest libellers, were employed to load him with every sort of obloquy. His popularity suddenly sunk under these latter attacks, while the Parliament, particularly the Peers, betrayed an inclination to censure, if not his

conduct in the field, at least his military counsels; and we find in a confidential letter, written at this precise period by Harley, the creature of his hands, this menacing passage—"you must know that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the Court, such scenes will open as no victories can varnish over." If Marlborough's early years were stained by ingratitude he was now amply repaid in kind.

It is scarcely credible, but even in the following year Harley, now Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, already under the pressure of political necessities, courted Marlborough with the affected confidence of a friend, and the respect of an inferior, and his advances were received with all the semblance of cordiality. The hero at the sound of whose name France trembled now sued from his camp to a puny enemy for protection against nameless slanderers at home, and was insulted by his hypocritical condolence. While every despatch from Harley professed an earnest zeal, and offered the most ample supplies, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, a secret negociation for peace proceeded in London, and Marlborough had to learn from a newspaper that the preliminaries were signed. He returned, and was apprised on his road that charges of fraud and peculation had been preferred against him to the commissioners of public accounts by one of his army contractors. As he had on his arrival joined the Whigs against the ministry it was resolved to strike a decisive blow; the report of the Commissioners was published by authority, and two days after, on the thirty-first of December, 1711, under the pretence, as it is stated in the Council book, "that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation," the Queen dismissed him from all his employments. The Commons presently after resolved that his conduct in some of the matters alleged against him had been "unwarrantable and illegal," and an order was issued to the Attorney General to prosecute, but no process was ever instituted. His enemies were satisfied by his removal, and preferred the leaving a suspicion on his character to the hazard of a prosecution which it could scarcely be doubted would have terminated favourably to him.

Marlborough, with his Duchess, now retired to Germany; devoted his counsels to the service of the Elector of Hanover; and when that Prince left his dominions to take possession of the English throne on the death of Anne, followed him to London.

Little remains to be told. The first acts of the new King were to restore to Marlborough his offices of Captain General, and Master of the Ordnance, and to lavish favours on his family. The invasion of Scotland in 1715 offered the final opportunity for his taking any concern in active military service, and his arrangements for the resistance of that extravagant attempt are said to have been admirably judicious and beneficial. In the course of the succeeding year he had two attacks of palsy, which in a great measure incapacitated him from attending to any but his own private affairs. He survived however till 1722, when nature gave way to a third stroke on the sixteenth of June. His remains were deposited, with the greatest funeral pomp, but, strange to say, not at the public charge, in Westminster Abbey, from whence they were afterwards removed to the chapel at Blenheim House.

The Duke of Marlborough's issue was an only son, John, Marquis of Blandford, who died, as has been already stated, a minor; and four daughters; Henrietta, wife of Francis, second Earl of Godolphin, who succeeded under a settlement above quoted, to her father's dignities, and died without issue; Anne, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, to whose issue they then passed, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; Elizabeth, wife of Scrope Egerton, first Duke of Bridgewater; and Mary, of John, Duke of Montagu.

Engraved by J.Cochran

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY, LADY RUSSELL.

OB. 1723.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF COOPER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY,

LADY RUSSELL.

The story of Lady Russell, with the exception of one lamentable particular, is confined to private life, and yet, so transcendent were her merits in every relation of existence, and in every point of view, that almost all circumstances which could be gathered concerning her have been carefully preserved, and few persons, especially of her lovely sex, have been more largely celebrated. Her character indeed excelled not only that of woman, but that of man also, for it seems to have involved all the virtues, and all the talents, of both sexes. To a lofty courage and magnanimity it united the most feminine tenderness and mildness, and sweetened and relieved a sagacity, which sometimes amounted almost to wisdom, with the simplicity and candour of an amiable child. To these, in her happier days, was added a cheerfulness, constant because it was always innocent, and, throughout the whole of her life, a patience and resignation which never for a moment left her, because they flowed from the purest piety. A series of her letters, which was printed in 1773, and republished in the following year, and a further collection, which appeared in 1819, with a biographical essay prefixed, from the pen of an accomplished female, will amply justify the tribute which we have thus paid to Lady Russell's excellence.

She was the second daughter and coheir of that minister of spotless honesty, Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his family, and Lord Treasurer, by his first lady,

Rachael, daughter of Henry de Massey, Baron de Rouvigni, a French Protestant Nobleman, to whose care the professors of that faith in France intrusted the interests of their church both there and in England. She was born about the year 1636, and, her mother having died in her infancy, her education is said to have been neglected; a report the correctness of which is rendered at least very doubtful, by the language and method of expression used in her epistles. In 1653 she was married to Francis Lord Vaughan, heir-apparent of Richard, Earl of Carbery, a Peer of Ireland. Of this young nobleman, or of the circumstances which led to their union, we have no intelligence whatever, except a trifling notice in one of her letters, from which it may be inferred that he was of a slow and indolent disposition. She had by him an only child, born in 1665, which not long survived its birth, and he, about two years after, leaving her a widow, she went to live with her elder sister, Elizabeth, Lady Noel, afterwards Countess of Gainsborough, in her mansion at Titchfield in Hants. Here she first attracted the notice, and then the affection, of the Honourable William Russell, at that time second son of William, fifth Earl, and afterwards first Duke, of Bedford, and became his wife in the end of the year 1669.

Certainly never was matrimonial union blessed for several years with more perfect felicity. Russell, who was about the age of twenty-five at the time of their marriage, and who had indulged in a freedom of life which bordered upon libertinism, became a pattern for domestic conduct, and they appear to have lived together as much, and in as much privacy, as the forms of society could permit to persons of their rank. When separated, letters were continually passing between them, filled, not with extravagant professions of affection, but with those lively and elegant trifles which love so readily coins into a rich interchange, and which were afterwards diversified, not superseded, by the never-failing topic of all that was done and said by the three children with which Providence soon blessed them. Thus, in greater bliss perhaps than mortals can merit, passed their days, till Russell

weakly condescended to lend his countenance and great name to a desperate faction, bent on the reproduction of that anarchy which had been but so lately subdued, and to become the tool of the sour republican Sidney, the wholly unprincipled Shaftesbury, and the senseless Monmouth. Of the part which he, who had now, by the death of his elder brother, become heir to the titles and estates of his exalted house, unhappily took in the desperate machinations of these men, our histories of the time teem with reports and misrepresentations; and, as a sketch of his life has already appeared in this work, nothing need be further said of it in this place than that he was arrested and imprisoned in the beginning of July, 1683, on a charge of high treason.

It is but reasonable to suppose that Lady Russell, amply as she enjoyed his confidence, was ignorant of the share that he had actually taken in the plot on which this accusation was grounded: of the general character however of the political inclinations which had recommended him to the conspirators, and rendered him an easy prey to those artifices by which he had been misled to join them, it is impossible that she could have been unconscious; yet such was her prudence, that not the slightest allusion to that disposition appears in any of her letters, either to himself or others, except in a single instance, and even that is wholly unexplained by any context—in one, of the twenty-second of November, 1681, she says, "be wise as a serpent, harmless as a dove." The time had now nearly arrived in which she was called on to display all the energies of her nature; to bring into action a courage which had hitherto lain dormant for want of necessary occasions; to disguise a tenderness, the show of which would have broken his heart; and to conceal a sorrow which was breaking her own.

On the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey. To the astonishment of all present, Lady Russell accompanied him, and, with a gravity suited to the place and the occasion, seated herself beside him, amidst the tears and sighs of the spectators, she herself alone appearing unmoved; while her husband, desirous of heightening the effect of the scene to the

utmost, and knowing how well her part in it would be performed, requested the Chief Justice Pemberton, who presided, that he might have a person to take notes for him. Pemberton replied, "Any of your servants shall assist you in writing any thing you please;" on which Russell said, "My wife is here to do it;" when she rose in the face of the Court, and, advancing with the modest dignity of an angel to the place appointed for her, prepared to commence her task. She heard his conviction and sentence of death pronounced, and accompanied him to his prison, with the same apparent composure. Arrived there, she canvassed coolly with him the possibilities of obtaining a mitigation of punishment, or, in order to it, at least a postponement of execution. Lord Russell said, as we are informed by Burnet, who attended him constantly, from his trial to his death, "that he wished she would give over beating every bush, and running so about for his preservation; but, when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow that she left nothing undone that could have given any probable hopes, he acquiesced."

All however was in vain, and he had notice to prepare to die on the twenty-first of July. "At eleven o'clock the night before," says Burnet again, "my lady left him. He kissed her four or five times, and she kept her sorrows so within herself that she gave him no disturbance at their parting. After she was gone, he said now the bitterness of death was passed, and ran out into a long discourse concerning her—how great a blessing she had been to him; and said what a misery it would have been if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his life: 'whereas otherwise,' said he, 'what a week I should have passed if she had been crying out on me to turn informer.' He said there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion, and a great kindness to him; but her carriage in this extremity went beyond all. He said he was glad that she, and her children, were to lose nothing by his death, and it was a great

comfort to him that he left his children in such a mother's hands; and that she had promised him to take care of herself for their sakes, which," says the Bishop, "I heard her do."

The King caused to be repeated to her, immediately after the death of her Lord, the intimation here alluded to, that he did not mean to profit by Russell's attainder, and her passionate love for her children put on her the painful task of offering some show of thanks. She wrote in consequence to her uncle, John Russell, Colonel of the first regiment of Horse Guards—"I esteem it fit to make some compliment of acknowledgment to his Majesty. To do this for me is the favour I beg of you; but I have written the inclosed paper in such a manner that, if you judge it fit, you may, as you see cause, show it to the King, to let him see what thanks I desire may be made him, but this is left to do as you approve." Lord Halifax, writing to her immediately after, says, "I have not seen Colonel Russell, to speak to him concerning the letter your Ladyship mentioned; but, according to my present thoughts, if he delivereth a compliment from you to his Majesty, by your order, it may be less liable to inconvenience or exception than any thing that is put on paper." Charles's omission to interdict any acknowledgment on her part is a proof of his unfeeling heart.

She retired into the country, and now gave way in solitude to her sorrows. On the thirteenth of September, two months after her great calamity, she wrote to Doctor Fitzwilliam, the chaplain and dear friend for many years to her late father, and his family, and we find in her letter these exquisite effusions of genuine nature, and holy philosophy—"You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common to others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one it may be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so consequently lament the like loss. Who can but shrink from such a blow!" And, a little after—"Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding providences, that I sink not under the discouragement of my own thoughts.

I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to eat and sleep with. All these things are irksome to me: the day unwelcome, and the night so too. All company and meals I would avoid, if it might be. Yet all this is that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort. When I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he took in them: this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a greater? Oh, if I did but believe, I could not be dejected; for I will not injure myself to say I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. No, I most willingly forsake this world, this vexatious troublesome world, in which I have no other business but to rid my soul of sin; secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests; with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortune; and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of fortune."

Her patience indeed was equal to her courage, and the sweetness of her temper perhaps superior to both. We meet not in her letters with any invective, or expression of complaint, even against those to whom the life of her Lord had been sacrificed, and she seems to have studiously avoided any intercourse with those of the faction which he had unhappily embraced. Her countenance and favour were however thought worth courting by the Prince of Orange, even in the commencement of his designs on the Crown of England. Dykevelt, his Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, had special orders upon his coming, in 1686, to wait on her, to condole with her on the death of her Lord; and to assure her that he offered these greetings, not in his private capacity, but as William's accredited minister. Soon after the Revolution, as might have been with certainty expected, the highest favours were showered on her husband's family. The Earl, his father, was raised to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford; her only son, then in his fifteenth year, to that of Baron

Howland, of Streatham, in Surrey; and no pains were spared in attempting to atone for an injury which was interpreted to have arisen in a great measure from the affection of the sufferer to the cause of the new King.

Lady Russell had yet to encounter severe trials. Her only son, Wriothesley, who had succeeded his grandfather in the Dukedom, and was happily married, and generally beloved and respected, fell a sacrifice to a virulent small-pox in 1711, having barely passed his thirtieth year: the second of her two daughters, Catherine, Duchess of Rutland, died shortly after, in child-birth of her tenth child; and here we have another remarkable proof at once of the tenderness and the firmness of Lady Russell's character. Her eldest daughter, Rachael, Duchess of Devonshire, being at the same time confined on a similar occasion, and making anxious and importunate inquiries of her, after the state of her sister's health, the incomparable parent replied, without a moment's hesitation—"Your sister is very well; I have this morning seen her out of bed;" and it was true, for she had seen her in her coffin.

Lady Russell died on the twenty-ninth of September, 1723, at the great age of eighty-seven, and was buried, with her Lord, in the family vault, at Chenies, in Bucks.

Engraved by W T Mote

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.

OB. 1724.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR GODFREY KNELLER, IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

ROBERT HARLEY,

EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER.

This eminent statesman was descended from an ancient and honourable family, whose line, notwithstanding Bolingbroke's ill-natured assertion, that he "had never met with any illustration of it but in the vain discourses which Lord Oxford used to hold over claret," may be satisfactorily traced to a period anterior to the Norman conquest. Sir Edward Harley, of Brampton Bryan, in Herefordshire, the father of the subject of this memoir, a stanch Presbyterian, distinguished himself at an early period of the civil wars, and gained a high reputation for ability and gallantry. The same unbending principles that had led him to take up arms in support of a cause which, as he believed, involved the interests and freedom of his country, induced him to defy the power of Cromwell when the usurper's sway was established. In 1656, when serving as member for Hertfordshire, his opposition provoked Cromwell's displeasure, who excluded him with other members; whereupon he signed a remonstrance, in which he announced himself as one of those who "would not be frighted or flattered to betray their country, and give up their religion, lives, and estates, to be at the will or to serve the ambition of the Protector." On the restoration of Charles the Second, he was appointed governor of Dunkirk and Mardyck, then in danger of falling into the hands of the French; the subsequent disgraceful alienation of which possessions he earnestly strove to prevent.

Robert Harley, the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, by his

second wife, Abigail, daughter of Nathaniel Stephens, of Essington, in the county of Gloucester, was born in Bow Street, Covent-Garden, on the fifth of December, 1661. He was educated at a private school at Shilton, near Burford, in Oxfordshire, kept by the Rev. Mr. Birch, who had the singular merit or good fortune to reckon also among his pupils, Harcourt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Trevor, who became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and ten future members of the House of Commons, who had all been at the same time inmates of his house. On the arrival of the Prince of Orange, in 1688, Sir Edward Harley, and his son, Robert, raised a cavalry troop, with which the latter marched, to tender his services to the Prince, and to assure him of the adherence of that part of the country which they influenced. His early destination appears to have been to the profession of the law, and we have it on the authority of Bolingbroke, that he was "bred in the inns of court." In the first Parliament after the accession of William and Mary to the throne, he was returned member for Tregony, in Cornwall, and in 1690 for Radnor, which seat he retained until he was raised to the peerage. That inordinate ambition which is said by his friends as well as by his foes to have been a distinguishing feature of his character did not permit him to rest satisfied with a private station. He had discovered considerable aptness for public business on several occasions; and it may be true that, not meeting with the preferment to which he thought his services and his talents entitled him, he determined to extort that distinction which the King did not appear disposed to confer upon him voluntarily. Burnet says, "he was a man of great industry and application, and knew forms and the records of Parliament so well, that he was capable both of lengthening out and perplexing debates." His labours in the House of Commons sufficiently shew that this reluctant praise was as little as he was entitled to; and the reputation which he acquired in that assembly proves the sense which was there entertained of his merit and talents. In 1693, he distinguished himself by exposing the corruptions which prevailed in the administration of the revenue, and

proposed and carried a bill for abolishing some notorious abuses in the mode of paying the army, and for regulating the sums expended by the actual musters of effective men. He was appointed one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India Companies; and, in 1694, prepared a bill for triennial Parliaments, which was readily carried. While his services thus recommended him in the strongest manner to the House of Commons, his dexterity and sagacity enabled him to conciliate the good opinion and to gain the confidence of opposite parties in politics. His family connexions and the habits of his early life had ensured him the support of the Presbyterians, many of whom were Whigs; the High party, as the Tories were called in the language of that day, also confided in him, and the vigorous opposition he had displayed to the court confirmed their reliance upon him. In 1700, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, his competitor, having withdrawn at the request of the King, who had intimated that it would be for his Majesty's service that Harley should be elected. In the following year, although he was opposed by Sir Thomas Lyttleton, whom the King then openly favoured, he was elected to the same office, and again, in the first Parliament held in the reign of Queen Anne; thus occupying that distinguished post in three successive Parliaments.

In April, 1704, he first became a member of the administration, being sworn of the Queen's Privy Council; and in the May following, on a partial change in the administration, occasioned by the resignation of the Earl of Nottingham, he was appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, retaining still his office of Speaker of the House of Commons. The ability which enabled him to discharge with credit and success the duties of such apparently discordant employments is alluded to in very flattering terms in the preamble to his patent of nobility, said to have proceeded from the pen of Swift, which recites, that these difficulties "were easily reconciled by one who knew how, with equal weight and address, to temper and turn the minds of men; so wisely to defend the rights of the people, without derogating from

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the prerogative of the crown; and who was thoroughly acquainted how well monarchy could consist with liberty." The state of politics at this period afforded him an opportunity for carrying into effect those aspiring projects which he had long been suspected of forming. The tyranny of the Whigs, the party then in power, had disgusted and subdued the Queen without terrifying her. Harley's attempts to gain their confidence had failed; and although they were compelled to act with him, they did not affect to conceal the doubts they entertained of his sincerity. One instance among others, of the light in which he was viewed, and the manner in which he was treated by his colleagues, may be taken from the unpublished diary of Lord Cowper, then Lord Chancellor. "Sunday, January 6, 1705–6. I dined next day, on an invitation, with Secretary Harley; present the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Treasurer (Lord Godolphin), Lord Halifax, Mr. Boyle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. St. John, Lord Sunderland; and Lord Somers, I understood, had been invited, but did not come, being gone to his house in the country; but Secretary Harley said he had sent him a kind letter to excuse his absence. I believed, when I saw the company, this to be a meeting to reconcile Somers and Halifax with Harley, which was confirmed to me when, after the Lord Treasurer was gone (who first went), Secretary Harley took a glass, and drank 'to love and friendship, and everlasting union,' and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in (we had drunk two bottles, good, but thick). I replied, his white Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very clear. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his which was never to deal clearly or openly, but always with reserve, if not dissimulation or simulation, and to love tricks, even where not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction he took in applauding his own cunning. If any man was ever born under the necessity of being a knave, he was." It must, however, be remembered that this is the painting of a determined enemy.

It cannot be doubted that Harley, so keen an observer of

mankind, was aware of the dispositions and intentions of the men with whom he was associated; nor is it surprising that a person of his character should endeavour to supplant those who had so scorned his friendship. He was sure of the co-operation of at least a great portion of the Tories, and confident, even to daring, in his own powers. His Parliamentary reputation; the Queen's countenance, which he had gained, partly by his own exertions, and perhaps more by having secured the co-operation of Mrs. Masham, who had begun to rival the overbearing Duchess of Marlborough in the royal favour, ensured the success of his scheme; and the hopes of the Tories, which had hitherto been crushed under the superior influence of their opponents, began to revive. This gleam of prosperity was, however, but of short duration. The power of the Whig faction, though diminished, was not extinguished. Harley, who was justly deemed by them the main cause of the defeat they had sustained, was the object of their most bitter animosity, and an event soon happened which seemed to place within their reach the means of his destruction.

A needy Scotchman, one William Gregg, had been employed in an inferior situation in Harley's office. The negligence with which the state papers, and particularly the foreign correspondence, belonging to this department, were kept, had afforded this man the means of communicating intelligence to Monsieur Chamillard, the French King's minister, with whom his intercourse was discovered before he had received the promised reward of his treachery. He was tried and executed; but although endeavours were, it is said, made to induce him to accuse the Secretary, he was proof against this temptation, and, for once at least, evinced some honesty by delivering a written paper to the sheriffs, immediately before his execution, wherein he declared that Harley was wholly unacquainted with the treasonable practices in which he had been engaged. Thus baffled in their attempts to involve him in the punishment which this traitor had so well deserved, his opponents endeavoured to traduce his character and to destroy his reputation; and finding not only that these practices did not produce

the intended effect, but that the Secretary's influence with the Queen was unshaken, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin threatened to resign unless he should be displaced. The Queen, desirous to avoid a rupture with ministers, who did not scruple to assert that they had set her on the throne and kept the crown on her head, endeavoured in vain to pacify them; and at length, finding herself in danger of being deserted, complied with their demands. Harley was compelled to resign in February, 1707-8; his friends chose to share in his undeserved disgrace, and once more the administration fell into the hands of the Whigs.

Harley's parliamentary credit was, however, unimpaired by this triumph of his enemies; and the Queen, although she was deprived of his services as a minister, continued to bestow upon him, in private, marks of her regard and confidence; frequently consulting him upon political measures, and never, as it is said, undertaking any matter of importance without his advice. It was in this false position, to which the malice of his enemies had reduced him, that Harley, instigated at once by his ambition and his thirst for retaliation, resorted with indefatigable energy to those practices which have cast a deep stain on his moral character. It is obviously impossible for any man to engage in such secret intrigues as were then carried on, with safety either to his honour or his happiness. At length, however, he triumphed. The domination of the Whigs reached a point beyond the Queen's power of endurance. The refusal of the Duke of Marlborough to promote Mrs. Masham's brother at the Queen's request led to a quarrel, which was so much inflamed by the instigations of the Duchess on the one side, and the intrigues of the new favourite, aided by the secret but powerful influence of Harley on the other, that it led to the dismissal of the Duke, the dispersion of the administration of which he was the head, and the establishment of Harley as the principal member of a high Tory cabinet. Lord Godolphin resigned his post of Lord Treasurer; the office was put into commission under Harley's direction, who undertook at the same time the arduous duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The finances of the country, then in a state of ruinous depression, engaged his first attention. Either unable to comprehend the subject which the mal-administration of former governments had made one of uncommon difficulty, or resolving to pacify for a time, at whatever cost or hazard, the clamorous demands of the public creditors, he resorted to expedients which, however well calculated to produce present relief, were not of a nature to cure the evils that had been engendered by the existing system. He brought into operation that measure for securing a trade to the South Seas which, although it enjoyed a short-lived popularity, ended by impairing the national credit, and bringing irretrievable ruin upon the individuals who were induced to engage in the captivating pursuits which it encouraged. He copied, too, from the French the pernicious scheme of state lotteries, and persisted in establishing them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of men who were sufficiently enlightened and virtuous to perceive and denounce the mischiefs to which they must necessarily give rise.

The moderation he had displayed from the time of his accession to the greatest power with which any subject can be invested in this country, had not satisfied the more violent of those political partisans with whom he was the most intimately connected. The high Tories began to mutter reproaches against what they called his lukewarmness, when an accident, which put his life in imminent peril, at once restored him to their favour. A French adventurer, named Guiscard, who, having failed in his attempts to excite insurrections in France, had become a spy in this country, and was in the receipt of a pension of four hundred pounds a year from the English government, was dissatisfied with this reward of his nefarious services, and pestered the Queen with applications for an increase of his stipend. His endeavours being unsuccessful, he attributed his disappointment to St. John, of whose riotous pleasures he had formerly been the associate, and to Harley, who distrusted and who did not attempt to conceal his aversion for him. In the anger which these disappointments excited, he attempted to reconcile himself with the court of France, and in

pursuit of this project addressed a letter to a French banker, in which he offered his services to the country he had already betrayed. This letter, which was intercepted, contained the most convincing proofs of his treachery. He was consequently apprehended, upon a warrant from the Secretary of State, and carried before the Privy Council for examination. While he was waiting in an outer chamber, he contrived to secrete a knife lying on a table there. On being introduced to the council, he behaved with great effrontery, and strenuously denied the charges which were brought against him. Harley then produced the intercepted letter, at the sight of which Guiscard's confidence forsook him, and, declining to answer the questions put to him, he begged leave to communicate with St. John, a request which gave rise to the suspicion that the Secretary at War was the object of his vengeance. This being refused, and St. John being out of his reach, he approached Harley, and before his design could be perceived stabbed him twice in the breast with the knife which he had kept concealed. At the second blow the minister fell. The council rose in alarm and confusion. St. John and some others drew their swords and attacked the assassin, who made a desperate defence and was severely wounded. He was taken to Newgate, where he died a few days afterwards, having first expressed his contrition for the crime he had committed, and insinuated that his design had been against the life of some other person than Harley, whom he said he had always found a man of honour. Little importance can, however, be attached to the statements of such a person under any circumstances, and still less at the period referred to, when he was suffering extreme anguish, and almost in the agony of death.

The danger in which this attempt had placed his life dispelled all the suspicions which Harley's half-friends had begun to entertain, and to which his enemies took care to give all possible weight. Both Houses of Parliament concurred in an address to Her Majesty, ascribing the attack which had been made upon the Premier to the hatred conceived by the abettors of popery and

faction against one who had displayed so much fidelity and zeal in her service. His wounds confined him to his house for seven weeks. On his re-appearance in the House of Commons he was congratulated by the Speaker, in obedience to a resolution of the House, upon his recovery, in highly complimentary terms; and it was this incident which gave occasion to the passing a statute which declared any attempt upon the life of a Privy Counsellor to be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rochester dying at about this time, Mr. Harley became the head of the ministry, and was raised to the peerage on the twenty-fourth of May, 1711, by the title of Baron Harley, of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. On the twenty-ninth of the same month he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of the realm.

He had now achieved the grand object of his ambition. For some few years all went prosperously with him, and as smoothly as is consistent with the condition of greatness. The machinations of the Whigs were as active and incessant as their hatred was implacable, but their power was now so effectually lessened, that they had ceased to be formidable. He solaced his leisure with the pursuits of literature, the encouragement of learning, and the society of men of wit and talent, reckoning among his intimate friends some of those whose names form the proudest boasts of British genius,—Pope, Swift, Gay, and Prior.

The peace of Utrecht, a measure of profound though questionable policy, engaged his most earnest attention, and he accomplished it by dint of an energetic determination, which, if not the first, is one of the most indispensable qualities for a statesman. No sooner were the foreign relations of the country tranquillised, than dissensions arose between the minister and his colleagues which demolished the power that had braved the wildest storms of faction. Bolingbroke, who believed that his brilliant talents were overshadowed by the loftier station of his compeer, engaged in an intrigue for the purpose of displacing him. Lord Oxford had incurred the enmity of Mrs. Masham by attempting to check

her cupidity. Bolingbroke contrived to render the disgust which the favourite had conceived, instrumental to his own plans, and to insinuate himself into the confidence of the Queen, who, never a strong-minded woman, was now beginning to sink under bodily infirmities. She endeavoured to accommodate the dissensions which had broken out between her ministers, but her authority was not enough to compel them to observe even an appearance of cordiality. Constant disputes, which sometimes descended to bitter altercation, between the Treasurer and the Secretary, disgraced the council-board, and insulted the Queen's presence; and it was immediately after one of these painful scenes that, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1714, Lord Oxford was deprived of all his employments. The anxiety and embarrassment which this sudden change in her councils occasioned to the Queen is said to have hastened her death, which happened on the first of August following.

The accession of George the First brought discomfiture to the party which still recognized Oxford as its leader. On going to pay his respects to the new monarch, he was received with marked indifference. But his enemies were not satisfied with having extinguished his power. On the tenth of June, in the following year, after Bolingbroke had been impeached in the House of Lords, Lord Coningsby, declaring that Bolingbroke's offences, whatever they were, fell short of those of which Lord Oxford had been guilty, charged him with high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors. Articles of impeachment were afterwards exhibited against him in the House of Lords, to which the Commons added other charges. A debate ensued upon the reading them in the Lords, and some of the most eminent lawyers declared that, if substantiated, they did not amount to high treason. Party spirit, however, ran so high, that it was in vain to avow, and even dangerous to maintain this opinion. Lord Oxford defended himself with great spirit and good sense; but the majority being against him, he was committed to his own house in the custody of the Black Rod. So mild a proceeding, to which they had been

induced solely upon the suggestion that he was suffering from an agonising and dangerous malady, was, however, soon recalled by the House of Peers; and, in spite of the remonstrances of his physician, he was committed to the Tower, on the sixteenth of July. His popularity, however, was so great, that extraordinary measures were resorted to for the purpose of checking the public discontent to which this prosecution gave rise. He remained in confinement from the sixteenth of July, 1715, to the first of July, 1717, when he was brought to trial. A frivolous quarrel, however, ensued between the two Houses of Parliament upon the point whether the charge of high treason should be first proceeded in, or whether the articles should be discussed *seriatim*. The Lords inclined to the former opinion; the Commons insisted on pursuing the latter course; and neither party choosing to yield, this dispute was made a pretext for suffering the whole charge to drop, and the Earl was consequently acquitted.

After this event, he retired wholly from public business, and devoted the few remaining years of his life to pursuits which, though less exciting than those which had occupied the greater portion of his days, were better suited to one who like him had become experimentally acquainted with the utter hollowness and vanity of "the great world."

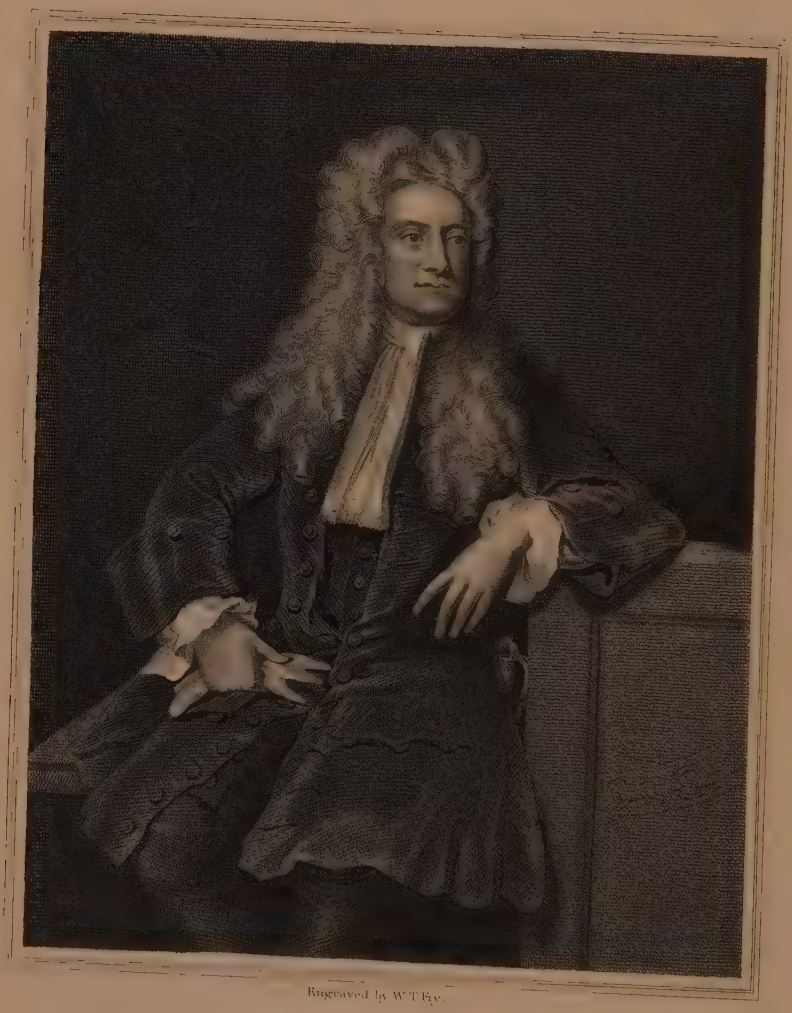
A fondness for books was a feeling which had distinguished several of his ancestors. As early as the year 1705, his collection had become very considerable. The vigour which he threw into every pursuit that engaged his attention, together with the means afforded by his ample fortune and his station, enabled him to engage the assistance of a great number of distinguished men at home and abroad who were best qualified to perfect the design he had conceived of forming that magnificent library of rare and valuable manuscripts in every department of literature now known by the name of the Harleian collection, and acknowledged to be one of our richest national treasures. It was arranged under the care of the capable and zealous Humphrey Wanley, who has chronicled the death of the subject of this memoir by a note,

written in a spare leaf of one of the manuscripts, in these terms:—"21st May, 1724. To-day, about ten of the clock, it pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy, out of this troublesome world, the Right Honourable Robert, Earl of Oxford, the founder of this library, who had long been to me a munificent patron, and my most kind and gracious lord and master."

Lord Oxford was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Foley, of Witley Court, Worcestershire, by whom he had one son, Edward, who succeeded him; and two daughters, Abigail, who married George Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, and Elizabeth, who married the Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds. By his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Myddleton, Esq., he had no issue.

The spirit of party, which cast so strong a colour over the times in which he lived, has so tinged the opinions expressed of this nobleman by his contemporaries, as to render the testimony of men, otherwise best calculated to estimate his character, almost wholly inadmissible. It would be equally incorrect to adopt the too partial encomiums of Pope, or the acrimonious invectives of Bolingbroke. Steele, who was his avowed enemy, but who was actuated in all he did by a love of truth, and the feelings of a gentleman, has the following passage in a letter addressed to Lord Oxford in 1719, where after alluding to his former attacks on the minister, he says, "I transgressed, my Lord, against you when you could make twelve peers in a day—I ask your pardon when you are a private nobleman; and as I told you when I resigned the Stamp Office, I wished you all prosperity consistent with the public good, so now I congratulate you on the pleasure you must needs have in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have judged rightly of men's passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them, can administer pleasure to a man of sense and spirit, your lordship has abundant

cause of satisfaction." The main character of his policy may he said to have been moderation. He was a faithful servant to the Crown, a friend to rational liberty, an enemy to persecution in all its forms; but his best renown is to be derived from that source which during his life constituted his greatest happiness, his love of letters, and the liberal encouragement hé extended to human genius.



Engraved by W.T.Fry.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

OB. 1727.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London Published June 1st 1818 by Harding & Leopard Pall Mall West.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

To treat of the Lives of Commanders without speaking of their battles, of Statesmen without referring to their political plans, or of Authors without enumerating their works, would be not less absurd than unjust. The advantages derived from their labours are usually reaped in selfish silence by their contemporaries; the sphere of their action is more or less circumscribed; and their fame would generally expire with themselves, but for the records of history and biography. The wonderful man of whom we are here very briefly to treat, was not one of these. He lived, and thought, and wrote, for the whole world, and entailed the glorious results of his studies on all mankind for ever. So familiar are they to us, that to proclaim them once more would be as ridiculous as to insist seriously that we owe daylight to the sun. Nothing therefore that can be avoided will be said of them in the ensuing sketch: but, as in the boundless celebration of the philosopher the man has been nearly overlooked, it shall be confined to the ordinary circumstances of his private life.

He was the only child of Isaac Newton, of Woolstrope, in Lincolnshire, a small manor estate, which had been possessed by his ancestors for nearly two centuries, by Hannah, daughter of James Ayscough, a respectable private gentleman, of Market Overton, in the county of Rutland. His father died three months before his birth, which was on Christmas-day, 1642; and his mother re-married in his infancy to the Rev. Barnabas Smith, rector of Northwitham, a neighbouring parish to Woolstrope. She seems however

to have fulfilled her parental duties to him, at least without cause of reproach, for, previously to her second marriage, she settled some small landed property on him, though she appears to have entertained no further views for him than to qualify him for the prudent management of that, and the rest of his father's moderate estate, when it might come into his possession. He was kept at little day-schools near her residence till the age of twelve, when he was placed, apparently but for a short time, in a school of good reputation at Grantham, for we find him soon after that period busied in the superintendence of her farming concerns, and in buying and selling corn in the market of that town. He discovered then however a surprising fondness for mechanical invention, with a proportionate ingenuity in the exercise of it, and read desultorily, but indefatigably, and with intense attention. Thus he lived till he had passed the age of seventeen, when his mother, who could not but have reflected that a proper cultivation of such dispositions would probably lead to far more important advantages than could be expected to attend the life of what is now called a gentleman farmer, sent him again, for nearly a year, to Grantham school, and then to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted on the fifth of June, 1660.

The study of Mathematics had not then been long received into the general system of education in our Universities, and had not yet become popular among the students. Newton is said to have first turned seriously to it in the view of ascertaining whether the science, or rather theory, of judicial astrology, had any foundation in truth. He was immediately enraptured by it, and felt like one who had discovered a new world. His progress presently became astonishing, and he was courted by all the first mathematicians of the University, with the celebrated Isaac Barrow, who was a fellow of his college, and soon after became mathematical professor, at their head, and who immediately formed an intimacy with him that soon improved into a strict friendship. As he proceeded, he gradually discovered the errors of the hypothetical philosophy of Des Cartes, which was at that time in high esteem at Cambridge,

and had, even in his youth, the acknowledged merit of having refuted many of them.

In 1664 he took his degree of Bachelor, and in 1668 that of Master of Arts, having in the preceding year been chosen a fellow of his college, as he was in the following professor of mathematics, on the resignation of Dr. Barrow, and in 1671 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. More than fifteen years were now passed in the prosecution of the most profound philosophical speculations, particularly in establishing his celebrated system of the nature and properties of light and colours, his gradual discoveries in which he unfolded in his lectures for the first three years of his occupation of the professor's chair, confining them almost exclusively to that delightful subject. These, after having spent five years more chiefly in the critical completion of his design, he meditated to commit to the press, when he was prevented for the time by the prospect of opposition from some who seemed determined to cherish their errors, and to draw him into a controversy for which he had neither time nor inclination. So far did his modesty and love of peace exceed his desire of fame, that he seems even to have regretted his having ever engaged in a pursuit which had experienced such signal success, if it were to be followed by contest. "I blamed my own imprudence," said he, adverting to this subject in a letter written some time after, "for parting with so substantial a blessing as my quiet, to run after a shadow." And in another, of later date, he says, "Philosophy is such a litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in law-suits as to have to do with her."

Immersed as he was in study, he could readily divert his attention to affairs sufficiently important to claim it. In 1687, the University of Cambridge, in which he was as much admired and respected for his moral qualities as for his talents, chose him one of the delegates then appointed to state to James's High Commission Court the reasons for its refusal to admit Father Francis master of arts upon the King's mandamus, without taking the oaths ordained by the statutes: and is said not only to have been

mainly instrumental in persuading his colleagues to persist in the maintenance of their privileges on that occasion, but to have induced James, by the firmness and ingenuity of his own particular arguments, to abandon his absurd and unjust purpose. He received from the University, in the succeeding year, a testimony yet stronger of its esteem, for he was elected to represent it in the Convention Parliament, as he was again in that of 1701. This material change of station, joined perhaps to that inclination in government to patronise science and literature which was not yet extinct, procured for him the unsought favour of ministers, even in the reign of William. He received in 1696 a letter from Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Earl of Halifax, to say that the King had been prevailed on to give him the place of Warden of the Mint, an appointment the emoluments of which were five or six hundred pounds annually, and to this intimation was added a civil remark that "its duties would not require more attendance than he could spare." He accepted it, and was eminently useful in the great affair of the re-coinage which just at that time took place. Three years after, he was placed at the head of that establishment, in the station of Master and Worker, an office of much larger profit, as well as trust; and now, finding it difficult to fulfil the duties of his professorship at Cambridge, he appointed Mr. Whiston his deputy, relinquishing to him the whole salary, and so nominally retained it till the year 1703, in which he was elected President of the Royal Society, whose chair he continued to occupy for the rest of his life. On the sixteenth of April, 1705, Queen Anne knighted him, at Trinity College.

His public engagements by no means diverted his attention materially from his philosophical pursuits. He had, in the preceding year, perfected and at length published the admirable series of his optical discoveries, in "a Treatise of the reflections, refractions, inflections, and colours, of Light;" which is more especially mentioned here because it seems to have been of all the surprising fruits of his invention his chief favourite. Indeed it

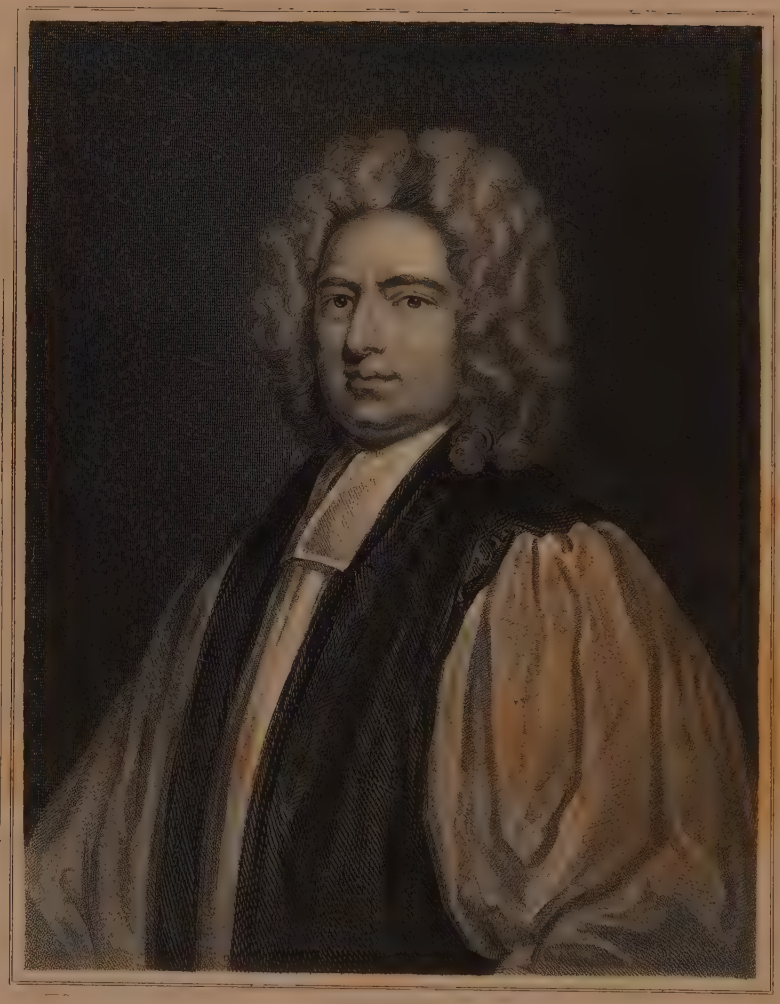
was after this date that he revised and printed most of his works. He became engaged too, in spite of his utmost care to avoid them, in several controversies, particularly in one with the celebrated Leibnitz, which as Leibnitz was a Hanoverian, and a public officer of the Electorate, in the reign of George the First, somewhat excited the attention of that Prince and his family. The Princess of Wales, who always professed a great regard for learning, and learned men, sent for Newton to talk with him on the matter of their dispute, and, for the remainder of his life, frequently commanded his attendance; and was fond of declaring to her courtiers that "she thought herself happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it into her power to converse with him." The Prince, afterwards George the Second, was frequently present at these interviews, and treated him with much distinction. Newton became as familiar with Royalty as a due decorum could permit.

Such, separated from the results of that power of intellect which distinguished him from all the rest of mankind, and so few and simple, were the circumstances of Sir Isaac Newton's life, which was protracted in health and vigour, unimpaired by the severity of his studies, to his eighty-fifth year. He died, unmarried, at his house in St. Martin's Street, on the twentieth of March, 1727, and had a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. He never made a will, and it was a favourite maxim with him that "they who gave nothing till they died never gave." He bestowed accordingly considerable sums on his relations during his life, and his charities to others were nobly extensive; yet he is said to have left thirty-two thousand pounds, which fell to the issue of his mother's second marriage.

The beauties of his moral character were, if possible, more admirable than the powers of his mind, and his piety was not less genuine than his philosophy. Fontenelle has portrayed him with truth and justice, decorated, but not disguised, by the usual fervour of an academician; and at home, it is difficult to select from the number and the variety of eulogies which embalm his memory.

They have been thus summed up by a modern writer, with a modesty and simplicity well applied to a subject in whom those qualities were eminently conspicuous—"His whole life was one continued series of labour, patience, charity, generosity, temperance, piety, goodness, and every other virtue, without a mixture of any known vice whatsoever." To these testimonies of his private worth let us add the miniature of the whole man, as it is depicted in his epitaph.

H. S. E.
Isaacus Newton, Eques Auratus,
Qui animi vi prope divina
Cometarum semitas, Oceanique æstus,
Planetarum motus, figuras,
Sua mathesi facem præferente,
Primus demonstravit.
Radiorum lucis dissimilitudines,
Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,
Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, pervestigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,
Dei. Opt. Max. majestatem philosophia asseruit,
Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.
Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque extitisse
Humani generis decus.



FRANCIS ATTERBURY, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

OB. 1732.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KNELLER, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

It is strange that the life of Atterbury, a highly erudite and polite scholar; a powerful controversialist; a deeply read divine, and most distinguished preacher; a wit himself, and the intimate companion of the wittiest of his time; a bold and busy political partisan, and a man of warm passions, and abundant ambition, should afford but scanty materials to the biographer. With the exception of one historical fact, it produces little beyond the common-place circumstances of an ordinary career. His pen has left us scarcely any thing very valuable, save his admirable sermons, nor was his tongue more active in parliamentary debate. It is then to be suspected that the hours of his leisure, or perhaps we should rather say of his business, were passed in reveries of splendid selfishness; in devising schemes of future aggrandisement; and in the practice of the innumerable and minute, generally secret, means, by the aid of which the accomplishment of such views is generally sought.

The printed accounts of his progenitors which have hitherto been delivered to us are very imperfect, and the little information that they afford cannot be relied upon. He sprang from a clerical stock. His grandfather was Lewis Atterbury, Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Middleton Keynes, in Bucks; and his father, of the same Christian name, and ecclesiastical degree, held the same benefice, and also the rectory of Great Risington, in Gloucestershire; was a chaplain to Queen Anne and George the First; and somewhat distinguished in his time by some polemical writings. This gentle-

man married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Giffard, of North Crawley, in the county of Buckingham, and the subject of the present sketch was their second son, who was born on the sixth of March, 1661-2.

He was admitted, in 1676, a King's scholar, at Westminster school, and elected, in 1680, a student of Christ Church, in Oxford, where he studied under the eminent Doctor, afterwards Bishop, Fell. He soon became distinguished there, not less by his wit than by his learning, and in 1682 gave a promising proof of both, in the publication of a Latin version of Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," in which his taste was distinguished by the happiest junction of freedom and fidelity. Two years afterwards he was the editor of the "Anthologia, seu selecta quædam poematum Italorum qui Latine scripserunt," his preface to which has always secured the esteem of the best judges, and now took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as he did in 1687 that of Master. In that year his reputation dawned as a controversial writer, in the publication of "An Answer to some considerations on the spirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation," printed, under a feigned name, by Obadiah Walker, in which answer he defended the Protestant faith with such learning, force, and vivacity, as to call forth the recorded praise of Bishop Burnet, afterwards his bitter enemy. He laboured at this period with almost incredible application, not less in the study of mathematics and polite literature than of divinity, and yet found time, not only for the enjoyment of frequent social intercourse with the most eminent ornaments at that time of the University, but for the composition of many desultory poems, and poetical translations, of which such as remain are pregnant with evidence, as well of his refined taste as of his sparkling wit.

His haughty and aspiring spirit became however, about 1690, impatient of the uniformity and simplicity of a college life, and he complained heavily to his father, as we collect from a late publication of many of his letters, of the servility of seeking for pupils, and the irksomeness of being "pinned down," as he says it is "his

hard luck to be, to a nauseous circle of small affairs." The father's answer is extremely amusing: after having reproved his son for the arrogance of his pretensions, he advises him to marry into some family of wealth and interest—"a Bishop's, or Archbishop's, or some courtier's, which may be done, with accomplishments, and a portion too." Atterbury lost no time in profiting by this prudent advice, and, shortly after, married a young lady of the name of Catherine Osborne, very beautiful, with a fortune, considerable in those days, of seven thousand pounds, and always, most erroneously, stated to have been a niece, or other very near relation, to the first Duke of Leeds. He now shook off the shackles of a college life, took holy orders, and transferred his residence to the metropolis, and, at the particular recommendation of Compton, Bishop of London, was, in 1691, elected lecturer of St. Bride's, and soon after, minister of Bridewell chapel. His fame as a preacher, for which duty he possessed every qualification, even those of a most commanding and graceful person and countenance, now spread with a rapidity that presently carried it to the Court. He was appointed a chaplain to William and Mary, probably early in 1692, for the first of his published sermons was preached before the Queen, at Whitehall, on the 29th of May in that year.

The reputation which had thus rendered him conspicuous, and the emulation which it excited in his professional brethren, of course laid him open to occasional critical attacks. In a sermon which he preached in August, 1694, before the governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem hospitals, "on the power of charity to cover sins," the warmth and force with which he asserted the merit of good works were thought by some to trench rudely on the orthodox confidence in that of sincere faith. Hoadley, then a rising candidate for the fame and promotion which he afterwards acquired, entered the lists with him, and a short skirmish ensued, which however was the signal for a desultory warfare between these divines on different matters for some years. In the October following he was briskly attacked also, by an anonymous writer, on certain passages in a sermon, before the Queen—"The Scorner

incapable of true Wisdom." Nothing could have been more welcome to him than these opportunities of controversy, his appetite to which was equal to his skill in the management of it, and his general anxiety to signalize himself superior to either. He now engaged in the contest between Mr. Boyle, who had been his pupil at Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley, on the subject of the Epistles of Phalaris, altogether unworthy in themselves, but of value for having been the means of provoking the wit and satire which, on the part of Boyle, ornamented the dispute, and for which he is now known to have been chiefly indebted to the pen of Atterbury. It was just about this time that he was appointed by Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls, preacher at the chapel attached to that office.

A topic of immediate practical interest now called him into debate. Among the important novelties introduced by the Revolution, arose a fashion of questioning the ecclesiastical powers of the Crown, and of asserting an almost independent authority in convocations. This, of course, divided the great body of the clergy into two parties, which about that time received the appellations of High and Low Churchmen. Atterbury was the chief champion for the former class; and, in the year 1700, entered into a contest with Dr. Wake, afterwards Primate, which lasted, with few intermissions, for four years, and in reference to which Bishop Burnet tells us, in his memoirs of that year, that some books were written "with great acrimony of style, and a strain of insolence that was peculiar to one Atterbury, who had indeed very good parts, great learning, and was an excellent preacher, and had many extraordinary things in him, but was both ambitious and virulent out of measure; and had a singular talent of asserting paradoxes, with a great air of assurance, showing no shame when he was detected in them, though this was done in many instances; but he let all these pass, without either confessing his errors, or pretending to justify himself: he went on, still venting new falsehoods, in so barefaced a manner that he seemed to have outdone the jesuits themselves."

It is probable that this character, though given by an adversary of no very gentle nature, is little exaggerated. Atterbury however gained in this warfare a mighty reputation with the tories; received the thanks of the Lower House of Convocation, and the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Oxford, by diploma, without the usual forms or fees. In the meantime the matter was taken up seriously by the heads of the other party; the judges held a consultation upon it, as an impeachment of the royal prerogative, and endeavours were vainly used to injure him in the opinion of the King, who perhaps secretly approved of his conduct; at all events, passed it over silently. Indeed, during the utmost heat of the contest, we find him waiting on the King, at Kensington, and received with all possible grace. Queen Anne, on her accession, appointed him one of her chaplains in ordinary, and in July, 1704, Dean of Carlisle, and immediately after, Bishop Trelawny, then of Exeter, his constant friend, gave him a canonry of that church. In the same year he, who so frequently had crowned heads for his auditors, and occasionally charmed the House of Commons by his eloquence in the pulpit, condescended to accept the year's office of chaplain to a Lord Mayor; a pregnant proof that notoriety and admiration, from whatever source they might arise, were always welcome to him, and that no prospect of future advantage, however distant and obscure, was in his sight wholly insignificant.

The flame that had been long kindling between Atterbury and Hoadley at length burst forth in 1706, and blazed, with little intermission, for four years. To state in the most cursory way the subjects of this wordy war, even to enumerate the very weapons used in it, would occupy more space than the limits of this sketch could afford. Let two small specimens of them, and of the mode in which the combatants commonly used them, suffice—Atterbury in a pamphlet on his favourite topic, the Convocation, published in 1709, charges "the modest and moderate Mr. Hoadley," as he tauntingly calls him, with "treating the body of the established clergy with language more disdainful and reviling than it would

have become him to have used towards a presbyterian antagonist, upon any provocation ; charging them with rebellion in the church, while he was preaching it up in the state." Hoadley, in repelling this attack, accuses Atterbury of carrying on two different causes upon two sets of contradictory principles, in order to gain himself applause amongst the same persons, at the same time, by standing up for and against liberty ; by depressing the prerogative, and exalting it ; by lessening the executive power, and magnifying it ; by loading some with all infamy for pleading for submission to it in one particular, which he supposeth an encroachment, and by loading others with the same infamy for pleading against submission to it, in cases which touch the happiness of the whole community. "This," says Hoadley, "is a method of controversy so peculiar to one person" (meaning Atterbury) "that I know not that it hath ever been practised or attempted by any other writer."

In 1710, his heated and busy spirit was amply and delightfully occupied in espousing the cause of Dr. Sacheverel, whose remarkable speech on his trial was universally believed to have been the work of Atterbury's pen. A few months after, he was still more gratified by being unanimously elected Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and that assembly fell, as it were instantly, under his sole government and direction. The Queen, whose affection to the Church, that is to say the High Church, is well known, came into all his measures regarding it, and he had also, according to Burnet, the confidence of the chief minister ; and of these he was not long without a substantial proof, for in 1712 he was made Dean of Christ Church, in opposition to most powerful interest which was made in favour of his competitor, and it is to be regretted, earnest friend, Dr., afterwards Bishop, Smallridge. "No sooner was he settled there," says Stackhouse (his opponent in party, both as to Church and State, but an honest man) "no sooner was he settled, than all ran into disorder and confusion. The canons had been long accustomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean who had every thing in him endearing to

mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr. Atterbury. That imperious and despotic manner in which he seemed resolved to carry everything made them more tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make fewer concessions the more he endeavoured to grasp at power, and to tyrannize," &c. They were relieved from this haughty ruler in the summer of the succeeding year, when Atterbury had the yet better fortune to be promoted, at the recommendation, as is said, of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt, to the Bishopric of Rochester, and Deanery of Westminster. He was consecrated at Lambeth on the fifth of July, 1713.

His elevation was but the signal for his fall. The Queen died in the ensuing summer, and a total change of ministers and measures immediately followed. Atterbury presently received an affront from the new Prince, so harsh and so gratuitous as to make it evident that it could have no other motive than to prove to him that he was to expect no degree of favour. It is customary after a Coronation for the Dean of Westminster to present to the Sovereign the canopy and chair of state used by him on that occasion, which are the Dean's perquisites. He offered them to George the First accordingly, and, for the first time in the annals of Coronations, they were refused. Atterbury's haughty spirit instantly took fire; and he, whose affection to the succession of the House of Hanover was already, at the best, but doubtful, seems from that hour to have become one of its most determined enemies. He threw himself openly into the society of that class; was more than suspected of writing a most inflammatory pamphlet which was privately circulated, and denounced by royal proclamation a malicious and traitorous libel; refused, in 1715, to sign the "Declaration of the Bishops," testifying their abhorrence of the rebellion then raging; and constantly opposed in the House of Lords all the measures of the Crown and its ministers, and drew up most of the furious protests so common there in the first Parliament of the reign.

An interval of considerable length however followed, in which

we find him apparently confining himself to his professional offices; delivering visitation charges; performing his duties at Westminster; distinguishing himself in his correspondence with Pope, Prior, and other men of genius of his time; occasionally employing his pen in the composition of some scriptural tracts; and paying exemplary attention to his wife, in a tedious and hopeless illness, of which she died in 1721. On the fourth of August, however, in the following year, he was arrested, at the Deanery-house in Westminster, committed to the Tower, and charged, under the report of a secret Committee of the House of Commons, with carrying on a traitorous correspondence, in order to raise an insurrection in the kingdom, and to procure foreign Princes to invade it; and, in support of the accusation, three letters were produced, assumed to have been written by him, under feigned names, to General Dillon, to the Earl of Mar, and to the Pretender himself. After much time passed in the usual forms of a parliamentary impeachment, and in debates of considerable interest in both Houses, on the sixteenth of May, 1723, the Peers passed a bill, by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three, depriving him of all his offices, dignities, and benefices, and sentencing him to perpetual exile.

On the eighteenth of June he embarked for Calais, where he found Lord Bolingbroke, who had just received the King's pardon, on his return to England, on which Atterbury jocularly remarked —"Then I am exchanged." He intended to have settled at Brussels, but was obliged to remove from thence by the management of the British ministers, who in other matters also used an ungenerous resentment towards him after the execution of his sentence. He went then to Paris, where, as has been since proved by a publication of his correspondence, he certainly engaged himself in the active service of the Pretender. He removed in 1728 to Montpelier, to avoid the suspicion of that connection, but returned to Paris shortly before his death, which occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1731-2. His corpse was brought to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey.

Bishop Atterbury had issue by his lady, of whom we have already spoken, one son and two daughters: the Rev. Osborne Atterbury, Rector of Oxhill, in Warwickshire, whose descendants are settled in Ireland; Elizabeth, who died unmarried, and Mary, wife of William Morrice, high bailiff of Westminster.

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